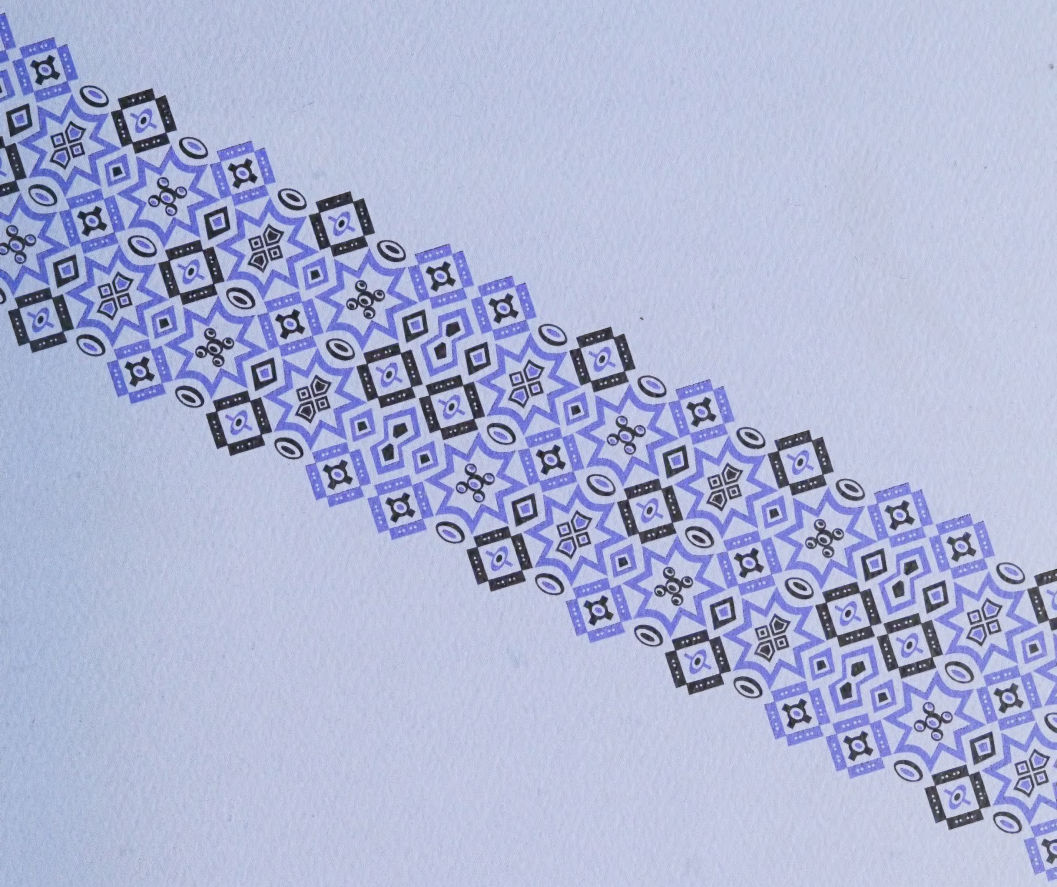
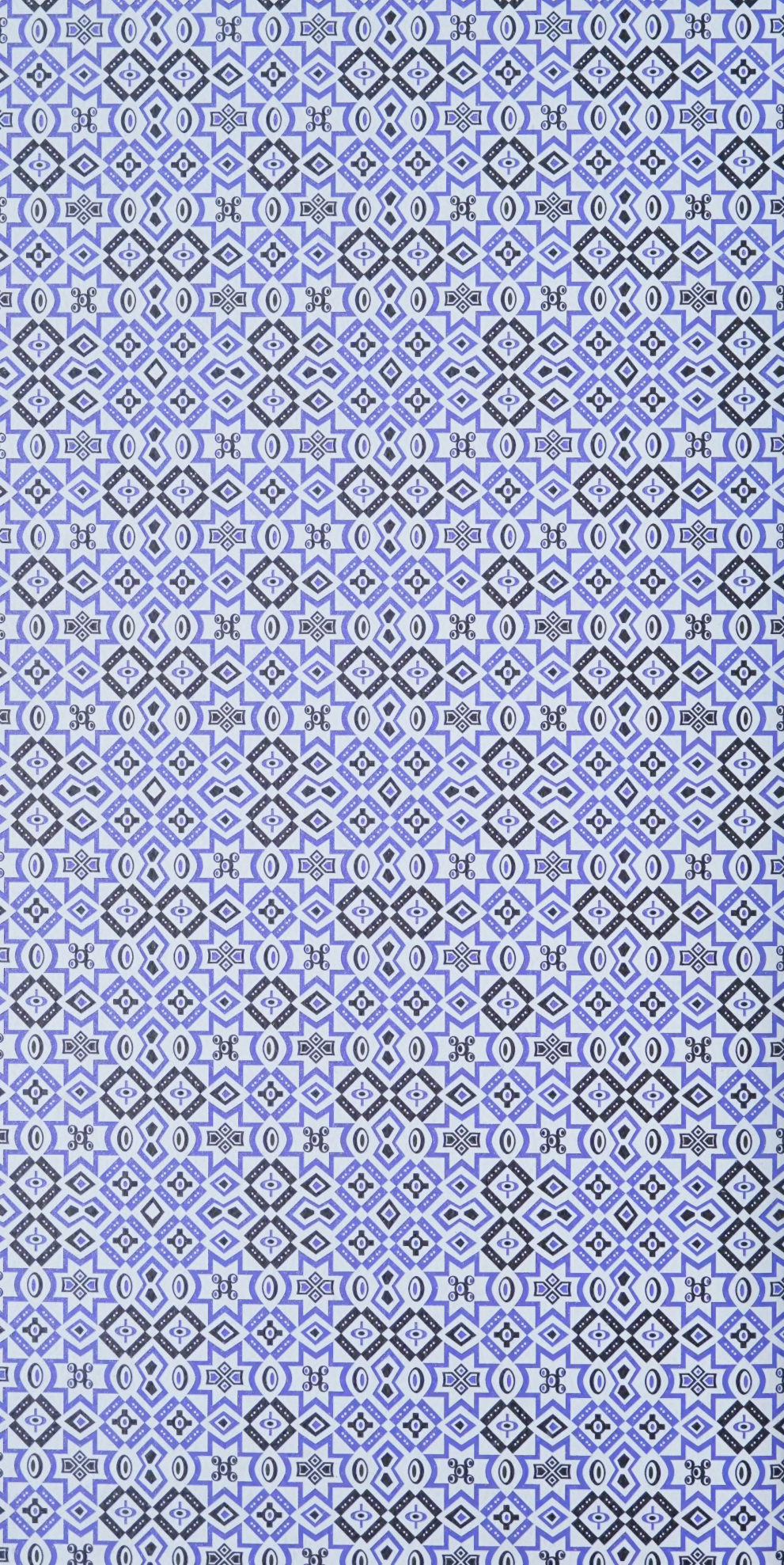


THROUGH FOREIGN LATITUDES & UNKNOWN TOMORROWS

Three Hundred Years of Ukrainian Émigré Political Culture



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THROUGH FOREIGN LATITUDES
& UNKNOWN TOMORROWS:

Three Hundred Years of Ukrainian Émigré Political Culture

Exhibition & catalogue by
Ksenya Kiebuzinski

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
University of Toronto
12 October 2010 – 13 January 2011

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Preface

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library has a long tradition of celebrating anniversaries of many different kinds with exhibitions and catalogues. Thus, it is a pleasure to acknowledge three hundred years of Ukrainian émigré political culture with a selection of texts drawn from the collections of the Fisher and Robarts libraries. Ksenya Kiebuzinski is to be congratulated, along with her collaborators, for selecting, researching, and writing this history of the influence of Ukrainians on so many different parts of the world, especially Canada.

Any Canadian who grew up in the agricultural regions of the West probably had Ukrainian neighbours who were successful, and often prosperous, farmers. The first small colony seems to have arrived in Star, Alberta in 1894, but many followed both before and after the First World War and contributed their distinctive historical, literary, musical, political, and general culture to the developing Canadian mosaic. Food was, and still is, of great importance and, one learned how astonishingly delicious *pyrohy* and real dill pickles could be. The Ukrainians did not, of course, stay on the farm, but came to the cities as well, assimilating into every aspect of Canadian society. The huge contribution of the community in Toronto to the University of Toronto and to its Ukrainian studies programmes has been acknowledged in this catalogue and those same people have contributed immensely to the collections that allow us to present this exhibition.

All the participants in this exhibition and catalogue deserve our recognition for the revelation of yet another rich research resource at the University of Toronto. As always, the production of the catalogue has been supported by the Friends of the Fisher Library.

Richard Landon,
DIRECTOR

Introduction

The year 2010 holds special significance for Ukraine. It marks the three-hundredth anniversary of the Constitution of Bendery – the first constitutional document in Ukrainian history – which was adopted in 1710 by émigré followers of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the Cossack leader who was defeated by Peter I a year earlier at the Battle of Poltava. This defeat led to increasing political control by Russia over Ukrainian territories by which Ukrainian autonomy was progressively abolished.

For the University of Toronto, the year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the appointment of the first University Chair of Ukrainian Studies. The appointment was the result of nearly three decades of fundraising by the Ukrainian émigré community of North America. The inaugural lecture by first and incumbent Chair, Paul R. Magocsi, was held on 22 October 1980, and soon thereafter the University began offering courses to undergraduate and graduate students on the history, culture, and political economy of Ukraine, and Ukrainian Canadians. These courses complemented the teaching of Ukrainian language and literature at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, and, since 2001, the activities of the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine.

It is in honour of these two anniversaries and the opportunity to highlight the strengths of the University of Toronto Libraries' collections that I have organized the exhibition *Through Foreign Latitudes and Unknown Tomorrows: Three Hundred Years of Ukrainian Émigré Political Culture.* Émigrés from the territory of present-day Ukraine have made important contributions to Ukrainian political thought and national consciousness for the past three hundred years. The selections for the exhibition draw on the Thomas Fisher Rare Book and Robarts Library's rich collections of Ucrainica – books, maps, engravings, and periodicals – to situate Ukraine historically and geographically, to illustrate the diversity of its peoples, and to show the depth of Ukrainian political activity and national consciousness abroad.

Of course, such an exhibition would have been nearly impossible to organize thirty years ago, though it is not the first one with Ukrainian content to have been mounted at the Library since 1980. Earlier exhibitions at Robarts Library highlighted dissent in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (1976); Ukrainian Canadiana (1979); the displaced persons' experience (1983); and one thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine (1988).

Though the nucleus of the Slavic collection was formed in the 1890s, it comprised only a few translations of Russian classics, and books in Western languages on aspects of Russian history and culture, and remained modest in size – with very little Ukrainian material – until the establishment of the Department of Slavic Studies in 1949. Thereafter, the Slavic collection grew slowly but steadily. By 1961, the year the first survey of Slavic resources was done at the Library, the collection numbered about 12,500 volumes, and of these, only about ten per cent were related to Ukraine. The largest proportion of Ucrainica – about seven hundred volumes – were Ukrainian literary works, reflecting the research interests of George S.N. Luckyj, who taught

Ukrainian language and literature in the Department of Slavic Studies (later the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures) from 1952 to 1984. Sometimes the Library received items of Ucrainica through serendipity, such as, for example, when it received from the estate of John B.C. Watkins, one-time Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1954-1956), the first printed edition of the *Kievo-Pecherskii paterik* (Kyiv, 1661), on display in the exhibition.

The situation of the Slavic and East European collection in general changed in 1963 when the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES, now the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies) was formed with a mandate to further the development of undergraduate and graduate studies and scholarly research related to Russia and Eastern Europe. Thanks to an active interest of CREES in library matters and outside funding, the Slavic collection grew more rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s. The Library was able to secure in 1965-1966 from Wasyl O. Luciw one of the largest private Slavic collections of the time in North America. In 1969-1970 it received a collection of books from the estate of Petro Wolniak, and in 1977 it acquired a large collection of books on Ukrainian church history from Josef, Cardinal Slipyj (1892-1984), Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

It was with the establishment of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies in 1980, though, that the Library began to expand its Ukrainian holdings more purposefully. In 1981, the newly-established Chair undertook the first systematic analysis of the Ukrainian collection at the University of Toronto Library. The result was the 'discovery' of over eleven thousand titles, or approximately thirteen thousand volumes, which by 1986 grew to twenty thousand volumes. Today that number is closer to thirty-five thousand volumes (out of some six hundred thousand volumes in the Slavic and East European languages), not to mention the various documents, digital titles, and microfilms, that are located not only in Robarts Library and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, but also housed in several specialized collections on campus such as Fine Art, Music, Medieval Studies, Law, and Media Commons.

The decade of the 1980s was good to the Library. In 1982, it acquired a valuable collection of over five thousand volumes from the estate of John Luczkiw, with a focus on the literary, cultural, and political activities of Ukrainians in the diasporas, particularly those who immigrated to Canada in the first half of the twentieth century, and those who found themselves in post-World War II Germany and Austria (so-called 'displaced persons'). A second major acquisition came from the Estate of Paul M. Fekula of New York. Known as the Millennium Ukrainian Collection, in commemoration of the decade-long celebrations marking one thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine-Rus', these books were printed in Ukraine between 1614 and the end of the eighteenth century. The acquisition of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century imprints was made possible through the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, with additional funds coming from Leo and Collette Cardinal, Robert Conquest, Jim Coutts, Jerry and Roman Humeniuk, Ivan Kozachenko, Christine Maruschak, as well as from the estates of Michael Bardyn, Nicholas Dorosh, and Roman Turko. In 1984, the

Foundation purchased the library of Omelan and Alexandra Tarnavskyj, rich in Ukrainian publications from World War II, and in material on the Plast scouting organization. Other substantial collections were received from Pavlo Shteppa, Anthony and Stephania Hlynka, and Osyp and Maria Siecinskyj. Many items from the Luczkiw and Millennium collections are on display in the present exhibition.

Then there is collecting by good fortune. This exhibition would be woefully inadequate without the donation in 2001 by Karol Godlewski and family of a collection of Polonica assembled by Count Emeryk Hutten Czapski (1897-1979). Czapski was a prominent Polish statesman from the region of Minsk and resident for many years of Słonim, near Hrodna (then in Poland, now Belarus). The collection includes material from 1505 to the twentieth century, with emphasis on the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Among the items displayed in this exhibition are early histories of Central and Eastern Europe (also known as Sarmatia), and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as writers of the Ukrainian school of Polish literature.

The Ukrainian collection has continued to grow since, systematically and serendipitously. Aside from purchases, donors have continued to step forward. While it is too difficult to acknowledge the hundreds of individuals who have contributed towards developing the collection, there are those I wish to acknowledge personally for donating their private libraries during my first four years as Slavic Selector for the University of Toronto Libraries. They are: Peter J. Potichnyj, Jaroslaw and Helen Semotiuk, John S. Muchin, Marian Shtyka, Tetiana Rewa and the estate of Stepan Kylymnyk, and Olga and the late Walter Kowal.

Many other people contributed to developing the Ukrainian collection through the years. They include faculty members such as Bohdan Budurowycz (Slavic bibliographer to the Library for many years), George S.N. Luckyj, Danylo H. Struk, and Paul R. Magocsi, and librarians such as Mary Stevens, Luba Pendzey, Wasyl Veryha, Andrew Gregorovich, and others. Equally important were benefactors, such as Seweryn Windyk who established a fund for the purchase of Ukrainian library materials in 1975, and Peter Jacyk, who provided funding for the microfilming of a complete set of Western Ukrainian serials from 1848 to 1918 held by the Austrian National Library; established an endowment to support annual subscriptions to Ukrainian periodicals, and supported the creation of the Petro Jacyk Central and East European Resource Centre. His foundation has continued supporting the Library and, beginning in 2006, has provided funds for the purchase, preservation, and/or digitization of retrospective Ukrainian library materials, and, from 2008, a library fellowship to work on projects in the field of Ukrainian bibliography. More recently, John Yaremko (who sadly passed away on 7 August of this year) donated money to preserve and improve access to Ukrainian materials held by Robarts and Fisher Libraries,

A great thank you goes out to all faculty, librarians, technicians, students, and donors who have made this exhibition possible.

I also wish to especially acknowledge with gratitude Pearce J. Carefoote,

Anne Dondertman, Luba Frastacky, and Philip Oldfield for assisting with the preparation and organization of this exhibition and catalogue. Frank Sysyn, Larysa Golovata, and Steven Seegel have offered invaluable advice and suggestions in the selection of material, so I thank them greatly. I also wish to show my appreciation to Ernest Gyidel, Joanna Bielecki, and Larissa Momryk, who assisted with research and writing. I recognize Andrij Makuch for his expertise on the history of Ukrainians in Canada, and Nadia Zavorotna for her expertise on the interwar emigration. I am grateful to the two of them for composing the texts for the catalogue entries for those two periods.

A Note on the Organization of the Exhibition:

An exhibition on a topic of such tremendous breadth as three hundred years of Ukrainian political emigration will undoubtedly present gaps in coverage: firstly, because of space limitations, and secondly, because of the availability of the bibliographic material. The strengths of the University of Toronto Libraries' Ukrainian collection on this topic are publications from the late nineteenth to twentieth centuries which are highlighted in cases 6 to 9, and in the Reading Room. To draw attention to the Library's strengths in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, I have elected in cases 1 to 5 to provide some context for the general public about the origins of the first émigrés, and the description and history of the land and its peoples that were first part of Kyivan Rus´, then the territory of the Cossack Hetmanate, and later a state after several attempts at full autonomy in the years 1917-1921, before becoming a fully independent state in 1991. Emphasis has also been placed on bringing to light the art and history of Ukrainian publishing, and my selections have sometimes leaned towards the aesthetic rather than merely the historical.

Ksenya Kiebuzinski

History

The territory that forms present-day Ukraine was for long periods under foreign rule, principally under Polish, Russian, or Ottoman control, and later partly under Austrian rule. For this reason, printed histories of the early modern period generally do not focus on Ukraine as a national or political entity unto itself, but rather as a part of a larger state, such as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russian or Ottoman Empires, or the Soviet Union.

Even with the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century, and the establishment of presses within the next fifty to one hundred and fifty years in the cities of Kraków, Vilnius, Zabłudów (in Poland), and Lviv, during the sixteenth century, that part of Ukrainian (or Ruthenian) lands that would later constitute Ukraine produced hardly a single text which could be regarded as historical. An intensive movement in Belarusian lands that brought forth the vast body of so-called 'Lithuanian chronicles' left Ukraine untouched.

Of those historical texts that did at least in part focus on Ukraine and its inhabitants, most were written by diplomats or travellers from the country's European neighbours. The works were produced in an era that saw the rise of modern diplomacy which encouraged foreign explorations; the explosion of print, which made it possible to circulate information about parts foreign; and, finally, the emergence of a class of readers interested in the ethnography of foreign peoples and governments. Works published from 1487 to 1549 were based on classical geography and provided limited information about Ukraine, referencing its chief river, the Borysthenes (present-day Dnieper), and the Ruthenians (or Roxolanians) who inhabited the lands. Such is the case with Maciej of Miechów's *Historia delle due Sarmatie* (1517).

From 1549 to the 1570s, cosmographies and historical accounts of Poland and Muscovy, when mentioning Ukraine, began to add descriptions of Cossacks encamped on the fortified lower Dnieper islands. The first of these texts, by the German diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein, was entitled *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii* (1549), a comprehensive study on the geography, history, and customs of Russia. Herberstein, who was from the Duchy of Carniola which is now in Slovenia, travelled twice through Muscovy, Lithuania, and Ukraine, in 1517 and 1526 on missions on behalf of the Holy Roman Empire Imperial Council. His work was frequently reprinted throughout the sixteenth century, and was the principal source for our limited knowledge about Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Many of the sixteenth-century writers, principally Germans or Poles, when writing about the lower Dnieper and the Cossacks, recognized that the area was located in the southern part of 'Russia' and that this part was actually under the administrative control of Poland or Lithuania. It is only towards the end of the century that some distinguish the Cossacks as a separate, independent territorial power, with the best and exceptional example being *Kronika polska* of 1597 by Marcin Bielski.

Ukrainians themselves begin to forge their own historical perspective in the seventeenth century. In the first few decades of the century there emerged the first Ukrainian historical works comprising the so-called *Hustynia*

Chronicle (ca. 1623-1627), an account of Ukrainian history from the times of Kyivan Rus´ to 1597, as well as *The Ukrainian Chronograph* (1630s). These works, as well as later ones, relied heavily on the archaic Old Rus´ tradition of chronicle writing, but at the same time absorbed features of Renaissance Polish chronicles, both in terms of conceptual framework and textual organization. After the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654), the area that became known as Left-Bank Ukraine was incorporated into the Muscovite state and formed within it a semi-autonomous polity known as the Hetmanate. It was at that time that ethnic and political identities were being reshaped, and that major Ukrainian historical compilations emerged.

Published in 1674 by the Kyivan Caves Monastery press, Innokentii Gizel's *Sinopsis* turned out to be the most successful early history printed in Ukraine. At least fifteen editions were published by the early nineteenth century. *Sinopsis* was the first history published by East Slavs, and remained the only one for almost another century. Based on Ruthenian compilations of the seventeenth century and the Polish chronicle *Kronika Polska, litewska, zmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi* (1582) by Maciej Stryjkowski, *Sinopsis* served as a major source of popular knowledge on the history of Old Rus´ until the beginning of the nineteenth century. A so-called plagiarized version of Stryjkowski's work was published first in 1578 as *Sarmatiæ Europeæ descriptio* by Alexander Gwagnin.

Sinopsis was the last history that came out of the Kyivan clerical milieu. The major works of the next century were products of Cossack elites. These texts, such as Samiilo Velychko's *Летопись* [Chronicle] (1720) and Hryhorii Hrabianka's *Действия презельной и от начала поляков крававшой небывалой брани Богдана Хмельницкого гетмана Запорожского с поляки* [The Events of the Most Bitter and the Most Bloody War since the Origin of the Poles between Bohdan Khmel´nyts´kyi, the Zaporozhian Hetman, and the Poles] (1710), as well as the earlier *Літопис Самовидця* [The Eyewitness Chronicle], represent an entirely different view both of Ukraine's past and Ukraine's place in East European history. The Robarts Library holds the first to third volumes of Velychko's chronicle republished by the Kyiv Archeographic Commission between 1848 and 1864.

The last text of this kind is *История Русов* [History of the Rus´ People]. Published in 1846, the work first circulated as a manuscript in the 1820s, and became popular amongst the intellectuals of Russian Ukraine. Although its exact date and author remain unknown, and despite its imaginative nature, *История Русов* was an important text for nineteenth-century Ukrainian thought. Relying more on literary art than on history, this narrative provided the reading public with a firm and attractive concept of a Ukrainian heroic past by focussing on the development of Ukraine and its people from the remote past to the mid-eighteenth century with emphasis on the Cossack state. *История Русов* would greatly influence generations of Ukrainian artists and writers, including the poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), the writer Panteleimon Kulish (1819-1897), and the historian Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885).

1 Maciej, z Miechowa (1457?-1523). *Historia delle due Sarmatie.* Venice: Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari, 1584.

Maciej of Miechów (Maciej Karpiga) was a physician by profession, and an erudite historian and geographer. He served as professor, rector, and vice chancellor at the University of Kraków, where he probably wrote *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europeiana et de continentis eis* (1517), a brief survey consisting of thirty-six pages in folio, of Asian Sarmatia east of the Don River and the European lands from the Vistula to the Don, and the peoples who inhabited this expansive territory. It was written during a period of the emerging and expanding power of Muscovy, and as a reaction to the threat it posed to the eastern frontiers of the Polish Commonwealth. Much of the work was based on the writings of Aristotle and Herodotus, and, as such, includes a number of mythological legends (e.g. the Amazons of northern Sarmatia). Other sources were more empirical and included facts pulled from the works of Ptolemy, Paulus Diaconus, Pietro d'Albano, Æneas Silvius, and the Polish historian Jan Długosz. Maciej's *Tractatus* was considered in the West as the first credible geographical description of Russia and Tartary. According to one scholar, Konstanty Zantuan, the significance of *Tractatus* was as revolutionary as the works of two other Kraków scholars: the work of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) in astronomy and that of Joseph Strus (1510-1568) on the pulse.

The importance of Maciej 's work for Ukrainianists lies in the author's recognition of the geographic, cultural, and linguistic identity of Ruthenians. There were eighteen editions of the *Tractatus* published in the sixteenth century alone, and it was translated into German, Polish, partially into Russian, and into Italian, which is the edition on display.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

2 Sigmund Freiherr von Herberstein (1486-1566). *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarij.* Basel: Joannes Oporinus, [1556].

A Renaissance writer, diplomat, and traveller, Herberstein was a native of Styria in the southeast of Austria, a region populated by Germans and Slavs. He studied law in Vienna after which, from 1506, he occupied an official post. He entered the diplomatic service of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1516 for which he travelled Europe widely on nearly seventy different missions, including journeys into Hungary, Poland, and Russia. He went to Moscow twice – in 1517 and 1526 to help mediate a conflict between Poland and Russia – during which time he familiarized himself with the customs and government of Russia, as well as its geography, with particular emphasis on its border regions. His *Rerum moscovitaricarum commentarii* [Notes on the Muscovites], written over the course of nearly twenty years, was first published in 1549. The work is the first detailed and comprehensive foreign account of the Muscovite regime, and was considered a reliable source given that Herberstein was an eye-witness to the country he described, and that he

had some knowledge of Slavic languages, particularly Slovenian. The book went through some nineteen Latin, German, and Italian editions through 1700, with new editions and translations being published well into the twentieth century. It includes in woodcut the first map of Russia, drawn by Augustin Hirschvogel (1503-1553), showing its extent from the Baltic as far as the Black and Caspian Seas, and from the Weichsel River to the Urals. The map is unfortunately wanting from the copy owned by the Fisher Library and exhibited here.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

3 Alexander Gwagnin (1538-1614). *Sarmatiæ Europeæ descriptio, quæ regnum Poloniæ, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Masoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam, Moschoviæ, Tatariæq[ue] partem complectitur.* Kraków: Matthias Wirszbist, [1578].

Alessandro Guagnini was an Italian in the military service of Polish King Sigismund II Augustus (1520-1572). He served in numerous campaigns in Lithuania and Wallachia, and in his final ten years of service was garrison commander in Vitebsk. Ennobled in 1569, he retired from service in 1578 to a small estate granted him by the King. For a number of years Guagnini tried unsuccessfully to form a maritime trading company in Italy, before leaving the country for good and spending the remainder of his life in Poland.

Much of his *Sarmatiæ Europeæ descriptio* is considered by some critics a plagiary from a manuscript by Maciej Stryjkowski that had circulated while the two were in service together in Vitebsk. Nonetheless, the work came to be considered a proper source for the history of Russia, and the third part of the book offers us a description of the founding of Kyiv. The book was first published in 1578, reissued in Speyer in 1581 with supplemental text, and translated into Polish in Kraków in 1611.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

4 Blaise de Vigenère (1523-1596). *La description du royaume de Pologne et pays adiacens.* Paris: Jean Richer, 1573.

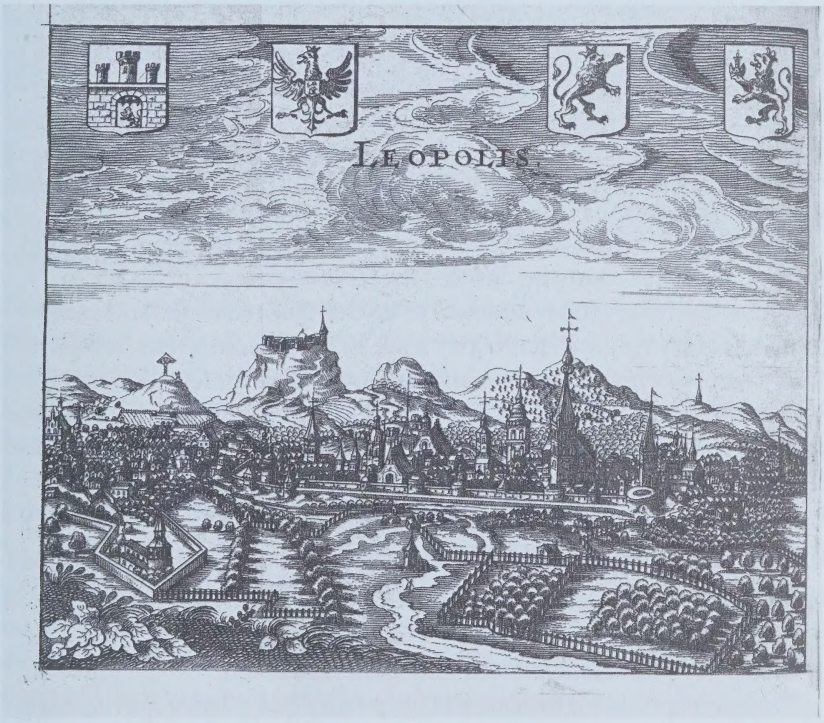
Blaise de Vigenère was a French diplomat, historian, and cryptographer, who served as secretary to the Duke of Nevers. Until 1573 there was no book in the French language devoted entirely to the history of Poland, but with the election of Henri de Valois (the future Henri III of France) to the Polish throne, a number of such works appeared, most likely commissioned by the king-elect himself, including this account by Vigenère. The author had some direct knowledge of Poland. He served as an agent for Catherine de Médicis (1519-1589) in negotiations with the Polish envoy in Rome in 1566 regarding the succession of Sigismund II Augustus. In his discussion of Poland and neighbouring lands, Vigenère includes descriptions of the western lands of present-day Ukraine: Galicia, Volhynia, and Podillia.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

5 Marcin Bielski (1495?-1575) and Joachim Bielski (ca. 1550-1599). *Kronika polska.* Kraków: Jakub Siebeneicher, 1597.

Marcin Bielski was a Polish chronicler, poet, and career soldier. He served in the army against the Wallachians and Tatars, and participated in the Battle of Obertyn in Galicia in 1531. From 1550 to 1564 he wrote a world history – the first universal history in the Polish language – which was later reworked and abridged by his son Joachim, and published in 1597 as *Kronika polska.* Drawing from a variety of sources, the *Kronika polska* covers the history of Kyivan Rus´, and the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. The book is considered the first to deal at length with the Cossacks, and includes accounts of the Cossack-peasant revolts of 1590-1591 and 1595-1596.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.



6 Andreas Cellarius (1596-1665). *Regni Poloniæ magnique ducatus Lituaniæ.* Amsterdam: Gillis Jansz Valckenier, 1659.

Andreas Cellarius was a Dutch-German mathematician and cosmographer who probably travelled through Poland and who may have pursued a military career there before settling down as a schoolteacher in Holland. His *Regni Poloniæ* was published in Amsterdam by Gillis Jansz Valckenier in 1652, and reissued in 1659 (the edition on display). The work includes a map of Poland, and panoramic views of the country's principal towns, including that of Lviv (Leopolis), Ukraine.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

7 *Sinopsis, Kiev 1681.* Facsimile ed. Cologne: Böhlau, 1983.

The *Sinopsis*, attributed to the Orthodox Kyivan monk and professor Innokentii Gizel´ (d. 1683), is the first printed history of Ukraine, describing events from the time of the early Slavs to the mid-seventeenth century. The work addresses early Ukrainian and Russian history from a pro-tsarist viewpoint, associating Moscow as the successor to the legacy of Kyivan Rus´. It was originally published in 1674, and republished in 1678, and in 1680-1681, and then in several subsequent editions in Russia up until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was also translated into Latin, Greek, and Romanian.

8 Самийло Велычко (1670-са. 1728). *Лѣтопись событій в Юго-Западной Россіи в [XVII-м] вѣкѣ.* Киев: Изд. Временною комиссиею для разбора древних актов, [1848?]-1864. [Samiilo Velychko (1670-ca. 1728). *Chronicle of Events in Southwestern Russia in the Seventeenth Century.* Kyiv: Pub. by the Archeographic Commission, [1848?]-1864].

This Cossack chronicle provides a patriotic description of the events of 1620 to 1700, and presents the Cossack revolt led by Hetman Bohdan Khmel´nyts´kyi (ca. 1594-1657) as a Ukrainian national uprising. Velychko was a Cossack chancellor who devoted the last two decades of his life to writing and teaching. His greatest work was this chronicle of events in seventeenth-century Ukraine dealing with the Cossack-Polish wars in which he tries to account for and understand the downfall of the Cossack state, 'our beautiful land, Little Russian Ukraine.' Originally published in 1720, the four-volume work was republished by the Kyiv Archeographic Commission in the nineteenth century. Volumes two and three are based directly on Velychko's personal observations and on documents to which he was privy in the General Military Chancellery.

Gift of Walter Kowal, 2004.

9 *Исторія Русовъ, или, Малой Россіи.* In *Чтенія въ Императорскомъ обществѣ Исторіи и Древностей Россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ.* Москва: Унів. тіп., 1846. [*History of the Rus´ People.* In *Readings in the Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquities at Moscow University,* I, kn. 1-4; II, kn. 3. Moscow: University Press].

Of unknown authorship and date of composition, *История Русов* greatly influenced the development of Ukrainian historiography in the nineteenth century. The text posits that each nation has a natural, moral and historical right to an independent political development free of foreign domination, and, as such, the Ukrainians are a separate people deserving of some form of self-government. It also treated Ukraine as a distinct country dating to the Kyivan period with historical continuity through to the Cossack era that had only recently come under Russian control. The work clearly implied that Ukrainian statehood should be renewed. The manuscript circulated widely in several copies until appearing in print in 1846.

Geography

The current territory of Ukraine covers an area of 603,700 sq km and is the largest country entirely within Europe. It is bordered by Poland and Slovakia to the west and by Hungary, Romania, and Moldova to the southwest. In the western part of the country the northern border is adjacent to Belarus, while in eastern Ukraine the northern and eastern borders are with Russia. To the south lie the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. The territory includes the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, which lies on a peninsula in the south of the country, almost entirely surrounded by the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea.

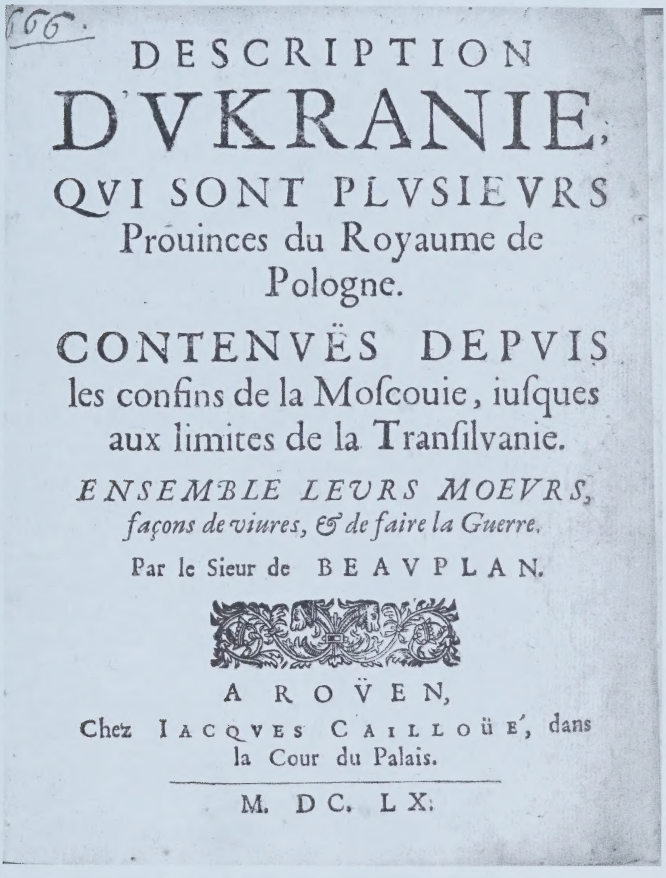
Prior to 1914 part of the territory of Ukraine belonged to Austria-Hungary and the rest to the Russian Empire. Following World War I and the short period of independence, the Ukrainian territory was partitioned among the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. After the fall of Poland in 1939, almost all present Ukrainian territory formerly under Polish rule (western Volhynia, western Polissia, and eastern Galicia) passed to the Soviet Union and was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. In 1940, Romania, under Soviet pressure, ceded northern Bukovina, which was made a part of Soviet Ukraine; and, in 1945, following the defeat of Germany, Czechoslovakia yielded Transcarpathia. In 1954, Crimea was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR.

Needless to say, political discontinuity in Ukraine's past and ever-shifting borders make it a difficult country to 'map' over the centuries, especially when the historical antecedents vary from Sarmatian Europe, Scythia, Rus', Ruthenia, Little Russia, etc. Any mapping of Ukrainian lands until the twentieth century involved a number of geopolitical entities: the Habsburg Länder and the Kingdom of Hungary, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ottoman Empire, Muscovy, the Russian Empire, and Tartary.

The oldest existing 'map' which relates to a segment of the current territory of Ukraine outlines the Black Sea coastal area with Greek legends, preserved on the shield of a Roman soldier, and found in Dura-Europos (located in today's Syria on the banks of the Euphrates River). During the Middle Ages, parts of Ukraine appeared on hand-drawn maps of the world, and especially on maps of the Black Sea coast since explorers, for commercial and political reasons, were interested in charting navigation routes around the Black and Caspian Seas. The first modern maps of Eastern Europe, and, therefore, partly of Ukraine, were those of the Polish historian Bernard Wapowski (1450-1535). His maps of Poland and Lithuania (or Southern Sarmatia) included Ukraine as far east as the Dnieper River and the Black Sea (first published 1526, second edition 1528). A map of Muscovy made by the Italian geographer Battista Agnese (ca. 1500-1564) and published in 1548 was the first map to include Ukrainian territory east of the Dnieper River and south to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. The Black Sea region was particularly well-mapped because of the rising strength of the Ottoman Empire and its strategic importance. Most of the first maps of 'Ukraine' appeared in the many editions of the atlases by Abraham Ortelius, Gerard de Jode, and Gerhard Mercator.

Until the seventeenth century, however, most European cartographers treated Ukrainian borderlands as peripheral, if not altogether marginal. The first maps of the Ukrainian territory made on the basis of topographic measurements were those of Tomasz Makowski (1575-1630) and Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan. Makowski, under the commission of the magnate and Grand Marshal of Lithuania, Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549-1616), prepared a comprehensive map of Lithuania which included northern Ukraine. The map bearing the place name 'Ukraina' was published in Amsterdam in 1613, and appeared in Willem Janszoon Blaeu's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1635). The largest and most important work, however, was Beauplan's comprehensive map of Ukraine, also published in Amsterdam between 1650 and 1653. His map delineates the borders of Ukraine and surrounding territories, and its cartouche indicates Zaporozhian Cossack rule. Its principal value for Ukrainianists is its usage of the term 'Ukraine' to designate a specific territory circumscribed by borders. Beauplan's maps would become an authoritative source for mapping Ukraine or the 'Land of the Cossacks' by many late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century western European cartographers, such as Nicolas Sanson, Guillaume de L'Isle, Johann Baptist Homann, Pieter van der Aa, Matthaeus Seutter, Tobias Konrad Lotter, and Christoph Weigel.

10 Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan (ca. 1600-1673). *Description d'Ukraine qui sont plusieurs provinces du royaume de Pologne: contenuës depuis les confins de la Moscovie, jusques aux limites de la Transilvanie, ensemble leurs moeurs, façons de vivres & de faire la guerre.* Rouen: Jacques Cailloüé, 1660.

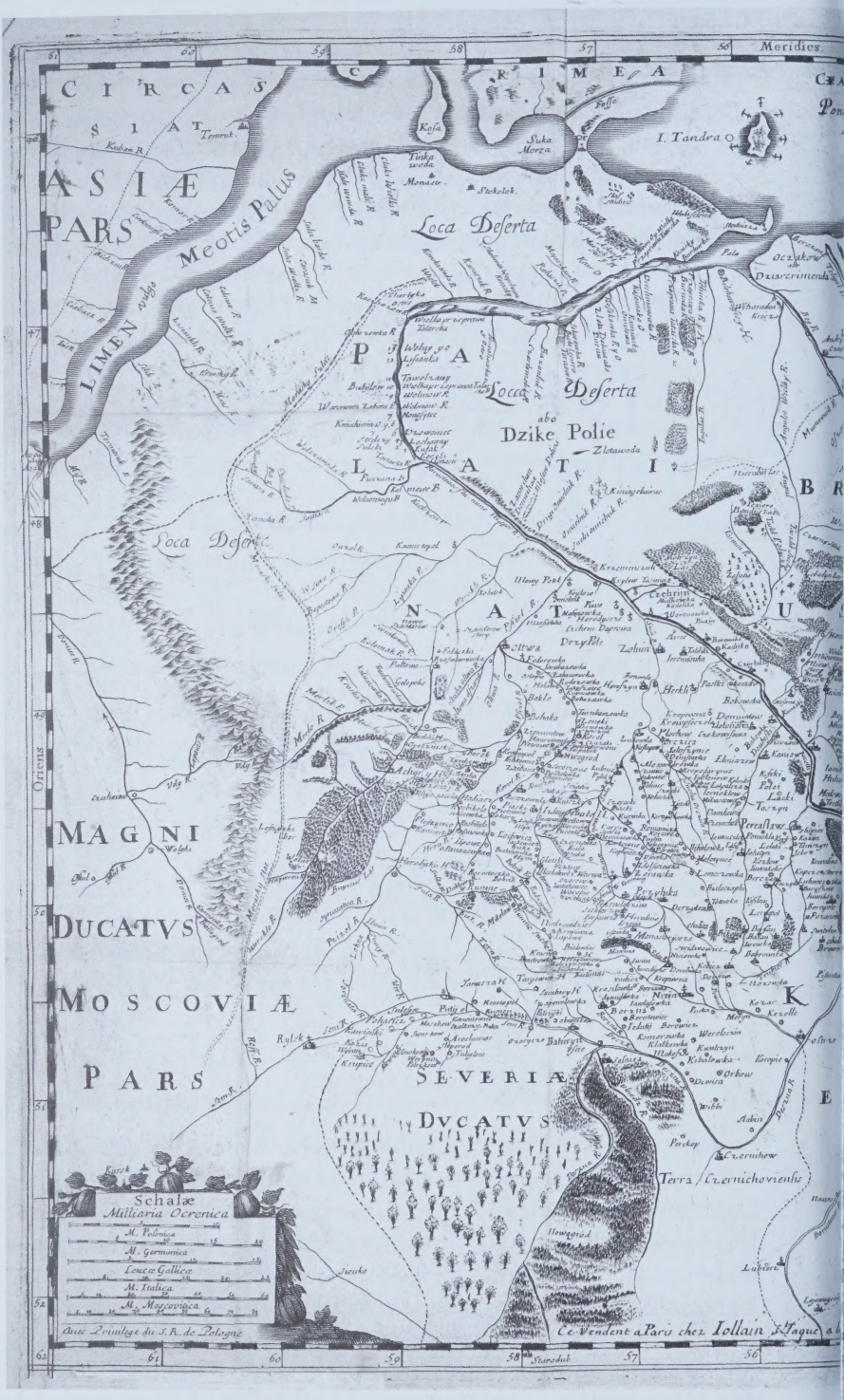

1660.

DESCRIPTION
D'VKRANIE,
QVI SONT PLVSIEVRS
Prouinces du Royaume de
Pologne.
CONTENVËS DEPVIS
les confins de la Moſcouie, iuſques
aux limites de la Tranſilvanie.
ENSEMBLE LEVRS MOEVRS,
façons de viures, & de faire la Guerre.
Par le Sieur de BEAVPLAN.

A ROVËN,
Chez IACQVES CAILLOÜE', dans
la Cour du Palais.

M. DC. LX.

Beauplan, a French Huguenot noble from Normandy, and a geographer, military engineer, and cartographer, came to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of 1630 upon the invitation of King Sigismund III, most likely because of political turbulence and religious intolerance in his homeland, and was assigned to service in Ukraine. He remained in Ukraine for seventeen years, and became known not only as a famous builder of fortresses and castles, and the founder of settlements and colonies, but also as the cartographer of the lands of Ukraine. The description of his experiences in Ukraine was published in a print run of one hundred copies as *Description des contrées du royaume de Pologne* in Rouen in 1651. The popularity of the work encouraged the publication of a second, expanded edition in 1660, a copy of which is held by the Fisher Library. Beauplan's maps of Ukraine were used widely in the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century by many western European cartographers, and maps of Ukraine by Nicholas Sanson,



Guillaume de L'Isle, Johann Baptist Homann, Pieter van der Aa, Matthaeus Seutter, Tobias Konrad Lotter, and Christoph Weigel were often only exact copies of his maps. Included in the 1660 edition of his *Description* is the first modern map of Ukraine, engraved by Jean Toutain. The cartouche in the lower right-hand corner depicts the figures of five Cossacks, above which are the national emblem of Poland and the royal crown. The territory

covered extends from the town of Starodub in the north down to the southern coast of the Crimean peninsula in the south, and from Lviv in the west over to Sivers´kyi Donets´ in the east.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

11 Reiner and Josua Ottens. *Atlas minor.* Amsterdam: R. & J. Ottens, [17--].

The brothers Reiner (1698-1750) and Josua Ottens (1704-1765) inherited a family publishing and map selling business, and were particularly active during the 1720s to 1750s. Their *Atlas minor,* published around 1723, includes a map of Polish crown lands, *Estats de la couronne de Pologne,* showing in detail the provinces of Volhynia and Podillia, within the latter of which lies Ukraine and the lands of the Cossacks, Polissia, and Red Ruthenia. The map was by Alexis Hubert Jaillot (1632?-1712), an important French cartographer of the seventeenth century. Jaillot trained as a sculptor, but after his marriage to the daughter of Nicolas Berey, a Parisian publisher and mapseller, involved himself in his father-in-law's map and print publishing firm. Some years after Nicolas Sanson (1600-1667), the premier French cartographer of the time, died, Jaillot negotiated with his heirs Guillaume and Adrien Sanson to republish much of Nicolas's work. He had access to Sanson's original plates and reissued many of the maps with only slight modifications or updates. Often, because of technical skills as an artist and sculptor, he would add elaborate and allegorical cartouches, and other decorative elements. The map is based on Guillaume Sanson's *Estats de Pologne* (1672), itself derived from the map by Nicolas Sanson *Estats de la Couronne* (1655). Nicolas Sanson in turn had made use of maps of Poland by Kaspar Henneberger (1576), Gerhard Mercator (1585), and Micołaj Radziwiłł, and Tomasz Makowski (1613). The source for the imaging of the Ukrainian lands was Beauplan.

12 Johann Baptist Homann (1663-1724). *Ukrania quæ et Terra Cosaccorum cum vicinis Walachiæ, Moldaviæ, Minorisq., Tartariæ Provinciis exhibita.* Nuremberg: J. B. Homann, 1712.

The map of Ukraine and the land of the Cossacks with the neighbouring provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Tartary Minor, was engraved and published by Johann Baptist Homann. A native of Schwabia, Homann taught himself copper engraving and went on to found his own printing firm in Nuremberg in 1702. He compiled his own large-scale atlases beginning in 1707. Appointed the Imperial Geographer of the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor in 1715, that same year he was also named a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. Homann went on to establish a successful family publishing business. The upper left-corner cartouche of Homann's Ukrainian map shows the title and his name. It is surrounded by six figures, with the reclining figure in the centre alleged to be Ivan Mazepa (1644-1709). The figure to the extreme left is most likely Charles XII, and the rest possibly other adherents of the hetman. The background, though suggested by some to be Poltava in flames, could also be showing Mazepa in exile in Bendery, with Peter I a threatening figure in the background. The map covers the territory from Moscow in the north to the Black Sea in the south, and from Przemyśl in the west to Lake Arpa in the east. There were at least three variants produced of this map. The first appeared in Homann's *Atlas von hundert Charten* (1712). A second variant was produced in 1729 in which was added the imperial privilege, and another variant with amended and corrected maps was printed in 1740 (e.g. the names of Walachia and Moldavia

were interchanged putting them in their correct sequence), which is the one that continued to be included in atlases by the heirs of Homann to the mid-nineteenth century.

On loan from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Peoples of Ukraine

The Ukraine of today was first occupied by prehistoric agrarian peoples associated with the Trypilian culture. The earliest Trypilian settlements appeared in the forest-steppe zone east of the Carpathian Mountains around 5400-5100 BC, and expanded eastward to the left bank of the Dnieper River. The Trypilian people were farmers and hunters who prospered for some three thousand years, living in large organized villages. They disappeared around 2000 BC, probably dispersed or assimilated into warlike nomadic tribes from the steppe.

The Cimmerians were the first known peoples on Ukrainian territory. They occupied the lands between the Don and Dniester Rivers at the beginning of the first millennium BC, but were driven out of their steppe settlements into Asia Minor in the seventh century BC by another nomadic civilization, the Scythians. The Scythians established themselves in the steppes north of the Black Sea, and came into contact with the Greek civilization that had colonized the shores of the Black Sea and Crimean coast, and built several cities. The Scythians and Greeks were in turn forced out upon the arrival of Sarmatian tribes ca. 250 BC, who dominated the steppes north and east of the Black Sea. They retained control of this area until the second century AD when their civilization was destroyed by the invasion of the Huns from the east, and the advance of the Germanic Goths from the north. The Huns and Goths were succeeded in the Ukrainian steppes for almost a millennium by tribes of Turkic origin.

Around the sixth century AD, a sedentary population known as Slavs, that had managed to survive and outlast the many onslaughts of nomadic warriors, began to expand its influence from its homeland encompassing the northern slopes of the Carpathians, the Vistula valley, and the Pripet Marshes (a territory of wetlands located in southern Belarus and northwestern Ukraine). The relatively peaceful expansion radiated from this centre in all directions, but with a particular flow southwards into the Balkans, and was assimilitative in nature rather than aggressive. However, as the Slavs became more geographically distributed they began to lose their cultural distinctiveness and became more linguistically fragmented. Out of this fragmentation arose three Slavic linguistic subgroups: West Slavic (from which developed the Polish, Lusatian, Czech, and Slovak languages); South Slavic (from which developed the Bulgarian, Macedonia, Slovenian, and Serbo-Croatian languages); and East Slavic (from which developed the Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarusian languages). These subgroups were in turn divided into large tribal confederations.

Out of the East Slavic tribal groups there developed a proto-Ukrainian people, out of which by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we could speak of Ukrainians as a distinctive group. Their ethnic identity strengthened in their struggles against Polish-Lithuanian and Hungarian feudalism, and Tatar-Turkish invasions. The country's largely agrarian population to 1800 ensured that its population remained overwhelmingly – between ninety and ninety-five per cent – Ukrainian.

However, Ukraine, having been partitioned between a number of empires

over subsequent centuries became more multi-ethnic and multi-religious in character, with the most important or significant national minorities being the Russians, Jews, Poles, Germans, and Tatars. Historical populations also include Armenians and Greeks.

The most marked changes in the population occurred during the nineteenth century owing to commercial and industrial expansion, and urban growth. In Dnieper Ukraine (or Great Ukraine, comprising the territories under the Russian Empire), according to the 1897 first Russian general census, the number of ethnic Ukrainians accounted for seventy-three per cent of the population, while Russians accounted for 11.7. Ukrainians mostly continued to live and work in the countryside, while Russians and Jews inhabited the cities and towns. The next largest minorities were Jews, Germans, and Poles, in that order, with smaller populations of Belarusians, Tatars, Romanians, Greeks, Czechs, and others.

The older generation of Russians living in Ukraine were predominately soldiers on garrison duty, or, to a lesser extent, landed nobility, tsarist officials, merchants, or religious dissenters such as the Old Believers. However, during the nineteenth century, Russians settled in the industrial cities of Eastern Ukraine. The Jewish population had been in these lands since the late sixteenth century when part of the territory had been under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They remained concentrated in towns on the Right Bank in what was known as the Pale of Settlement, an area within the Russian Empire to which Jewish settlement was restricted. Poles continued to inhabit the Right Bank, the provinces of Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podillia. German colonists beginning in the eighteenth century settled in the underdeveloped and sparsely inhabited lands in the southern Ukrainian steppe lands where they were granted free land, religious freedom, the right to local self government, and exemptions from military and civil service and taxes. In the nineteenth century Germans also arrived in large numbers to run rural estates in Volhynia. The Tatars established their own khanate in the fourteenth century in Crimea, and remained a large presence there until the incorporation of the region by the Russian Empire, dropping from ninety to thirty-four per cent of the area's population by 1897.

Other peoples of Ukraine had their own socio-economic and political emigrations. The largest group to emigrate from Ukraine was the Crimean Tatars of whom some 1.8 million left their homeland from the years 1783 to 1922 to settle in various lands of the Ottoman Empire following the collapse of the Crimean Khanate. Some of the Crimean émigrés became politicized and undertook efforts to unseat Russian rule in their homeland. Efforts of others were directed towards supporting a national revival in Crimea, with the aim of creating an independent Crimean state allied with the Ottoman Empire. In the late nineteenth century leading up to World War I, large numbers of Jews left Ukraine to improve their economic situation. After World War II many arrived in the newly-created state of Israel, to which they continued to immigrate from the Soviet Ukraine throughout the 1970s to 1990s. Russians from Ukraine immigrated during the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian Civil War (1917-1920) to western Europe and North America from where they continued to think nostalgically about Ukraine as their 'Russian' homeland. There were some who were even

hostile to the notion that Ukraine could ever become a sovereign state or that its people were a distinct nationality, and they published and circulated pamphlets against the idea of Ukrainian nationalism. After the close of World War II, about half a million Poles were resettled from eastern Galicia and western Volhynia to Silesia and other territories annexed from defeated Germany, while others immigrated to Europe and North America. To a lesser extent, there were emigrations, too, of Germans and Mennonites.

13 Johann Christian von Engel (1770-1814). *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Cosaken.* Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1796.

Johann Christian von Engel wrote what is considered one of the first in-depth scholarly histories of Ukraine. His work remained the most important German contribution to Ukrainian studies through the nineteenth century. Engel investigates the development of Cossack society and its part in the *Rzeczpospolita,* which had turned the Cossacks into enemies by political short-sightedness and misunderstanding, and had contributed to its own ruin. Engel emphasizes the shared socio-economic and political-constitutional developments of Ukrainians and Poles, an idea common to nineteenth-century Polish intellectuals after the partitions of 1772 to 1795 by which their independent country had ceased to exist.

Gift of Paul Robert Magocsi.

14 Jean Baptiste Joseph Breton de La Martinière (1777-1852). *La Russie, ou, Moeurs, usages et costumes des habitans de toutes les provinces de cet empire.* Paris: Nepveu, 1813.

Breton de La Martinière studied stenography at the beginning of the French Revolution. He entered into the service of the *Feuille du soir* in 1792 and was responsible for recording the debates of the French National Assembly. He was thus present at the 10 August meeting that marked the formal end of the monarchy, and the entire revolutionary period thereafter. Breton de La Martinière continued to work as a stenographer under the First Empire, and also began to earn a living as a writer. Among his publications were travel accounts of Belgium and France, but also translations and adaptations of books in English, German, and Russian. His work on Russia dates from a year after Napoleon's unsuccessful and ultimately disastrous invasion of the country. It includes 111 engravings from the original drawings by Michel François Damame-Démartrait (1763-1827), a student of Jacques-Louis David, who lived and worked in Russia, and Robert Ker-Porter (1777-1842) who from 1804 to 1806 was the 'historical painter' for Emperor

Alexander I (1777-1825). Ker-Porter revisited Russia in 1811, attending and describing the Russian campaign against Napoleon in 1812. Breton de La Martinière likely wrote his description of Russian ethnographic types (including Little Russians), dress, and customs based on existing English and German publications.

15 Leonard Jakób Borejko Chodźko (1800-1871). *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale et illustrée.* Paris: Au Bureau Central, 1839-1841.

Chodźko studied in Vilnius from 1815 to 1817, focussing on history under the direction of Joachim Lelewel. He then served as secretary to Prince Michał Kleofas Ogiński (1765-1833), with whom he travelled through Europe. Settling in Paris in 1826, he became a librarian at Ste Geneviève and the Sorbonne. In 1830, Chodźko was aide de camp to Lafayette during the July Revolution. He co-founded the Franco-Polish Central Committee, and joined Lelewel's National Polish Committee in Paris. Chodźko promoted the Polish cause in France through his organizational work and publications, almost all dealing with the history, geography, ethnography, literature, and science of Poland and its neighbouring countries. The three-volume work illustrated with 180 engravings, included numerous contributions by Leonard's wife Olimpia Chodźkowa (1797-1889), and provided information about Galician and Ukrainian cities, peoples, and literature, such as, for example, entries on Galicia by Józef Christien Ostrowski (1811-1882), the city of Lviv by Andrzej Słowaczyński (1811-1882), Ukrainian songs by Albert Sowiński (1805-1880), and an article by Henryk Choński (1809-1881) on the Ukrainian harem-slave girl Roxolana who became the wife of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

16 Павел Петрович Свиньин (1788-1839). *Картины Россіи и быть разноплеменныхъ ея народовъ.* С.-Петербург: В типографіи Н. Герча, 1839. [Pavel Petrovich Svin´in (1788-1839). *Scenes of Russia and its Many Peoples.* St Petersburg: Press of N. Gercha, 1839].

Pavel Svin´in was a genre, landscape, and portrait painter. He entered the service of the Russian Foreign Service Office, and in 1811 came to the United States to serve two years as secretary to the Russian Consul-General. Upon his return he published an account of his travels in North America, the Mediterranean, and England. He also travelled extensively throughout the Russian Empire, experiences from which he drew upon for the publication of his *Картины России.*

Gift of Bernard and Marjorie Baskin.

17 Giovanni, da Lucca (fl. 1640). *De landschappen der percoptize en nogaize Tarters, Circassen, Mingrelianen en Georgianen.* Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, [1727?].

Around 1624-1626, the Dominican friar Giovanni da Lucca was sent as an envoy by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to Tartary and Circassia, and by the King of Poland to the Persian Empire. He visited several areas near the Black Sea including Crimea, Georgia, Mingrelia, and Abkhazia among other places. His account of the journey describes the economic and social conditions in Crimea and the Caucasus, with a particular focus on the Rabbanite and Karaite inhabitants of the Crimea. He mentions the sale of slaves in the Tatar towns of Crimea, and how the Turks, Arabs, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks often buy them. The work exhibited is a Dutch translation from the Italian original which may exist only in manuscript in Rome. It was published in part or in whole in France in 1672 and 1696.

18 Edmund Spencer. *Turkey, Russia, the Black Sea and Circassia.* London: G. Routledge 1854.

Spencer was a British sea captain-traveller who visited the Black Sea region over a series of journeys. In 1836, he became the first traveller to record his passage down the Danube River from Vienna to the Black Sea. The trip was undertaken in the company of consul-general James Yeames of Odessa and

under the auspices of Mikhail Semenovich Vorontsov, the Governor-General of New Russia (as the southern provinces of Ukraine were then identified). In his work on Turkey, Russia, and Circassia, Spencer reveals himself to be a warm admirer of the independent Circassians, and averse to Russia and its ambitious plans of conquest. His travel account was first published in 1836, with a third edition in 1839, and a new edition in 1854.

19 Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811). *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in the Years 1793 and 1794.* Translated by Francis William Blagdon. London: Printed by A. Strahan, for T.N. Longman and O. Rees; T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies; and J. Murray and S. Highley, 1802-1803.

Pallas was a German zoologist, naturalist, and member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Following an education in Germany, Holland, and England, he was invited in 1767 to Russia by Catherine II (1729-1796). He led several expeditions through various Russian provinces, including one from 1768 to 1774, and a second one from 1793 to 1794. In his second expedition, he explored the Volga region, the northern Caucasus, and the Crimea – wintering in Simferopol – and travelled back towards St. Petersburg along the Dnieper River valley. Pallas would make Crimea his home until the year before his death in 1811. The geological, botanical, and ethnographic findings from his second trip were published in German as *Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs* in 1779-1801. The volume contains a number of plates of Crimean Tatar men and women.

Gift of the Barrett family of Port Dover, Ontario, 1997.

20 Anatolii Demidov, principe di San Donato (1812-1870). *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie.* Paris: E. Bourdin, 1840.

A descendant of a great industrial family that had made its fortune in metallurgical enterprises in the Ural Mountains, Anatolii Demidov led a rather profligate life in Western Europe, spending considerable time in Paris in the company of young artists and writers, and associating himself with European aristocrats (hence his title Principe di San Donato). He did make trips to Russia during the reign of Nicholas I upon the insistence of the emperor. One such demand came in 1837, when, at the request of the Russian government, Demidov organized and financed a scientific expedition to the southern territories of the Empire. The results of his journey were published in a richly illustrated edition in Paris in 1840.

21 *Czumak w Drozde = Peasant in the Neighbourhood of Human. Górale Karpacy na pasterstwie w Przedgórzach = Stupherds [sic] of the Carpathian Mountains.* From Leon Józef Zienkowicz (1808-1870). *Les Costumes du peuple polonais.* Paris: Librairie Polonaise; Strasbourg: Chez L'Éditeur, 1841.

These two-colour lithographs present two Ukrainian types. The first is a *chumak* from the area of Uman, a city in central Ukraine. *Chumaks* were wagoners and traders who brought salt and dried fish from the Crimea, Black, and Azov Seas, and returned to the coastal areas with wheat, farm products, and manufactured goods. The trade was practised by all classes of the Ukrainian population, but particularly by the Cossacks and well-to-do peasants. The second type are *Hutsuls* (in Polish, *Gorale*), who are pastoral highlanders inhabiting the Carpathian Mountains. Their way of life has traditionally been based on forestry and logging, as well as cattle and sheep breeding. The illustrations are from a larger work on Polish peoples written by Leon Józef Zienkowicz. They were drawn by Jan Nepomucen Lewicki (1795-1871), a Polish artist, illustrator, and photographer, who had taken part in the November Uprising of 1830-1831, and found refuge in France. He lived in Strasbourg from 1832 to 1835 (and in Paris from 1843), and worked for the publishing firm *Simon fils,* which issued these lithographs.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

Culture

A body of literature, written on what historically became Ukrainian territory, developed with the introduction of Byzantine Christianity into Kyivan Rus´, traditionally dated 988. With the exception of princely chronicles, most of this written legacy until the seventeenth century was religious in nature. The literary legacy of Kyivan Rus´ comprises both translated and original works, written in Church Slavic (of South Slavic provenance) but with varying degrees of infusion of East Slavic elements (some of which can be identified as northern, or 'Russian', and others as southern, or 'Ukrainian').

Translations of the Scriptures are the earliest literary monuments. The Ostromir Gospel (1056-1057) is perhaps the most significant manuscript, but books of the Epistles and Psalters were also copied and disseminated. Original religious writings of the Kyivan period include lives of the saints, the *Paterikon* of the Caves Monastery, homilies and edificatory works. The princely chronicles, especially the Primary, Kyivan, and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles, exist only in later copies.

The gradual disintegration of Kyivan Rus´, the Mongol invasions of the mid-thirteenth century, and the absorption of most Ukrainian lands into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were followed by a hiatus in major literary activity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Revival of literary activity followed the introduction of printing in Cyrillic, the oldest examples dating from 1491 in Kraków.

The literary revival in Ukraine was stimulated by two significant developments, one political, the other religious. In 1569, the personal union between Poland and Lithuania was transformed into a federation, while concurrently the Ukrainian lands were transferred from Lithuania directly to Polish rule. This occurred just as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation were making strong inroads, confronting the Orthodox Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belarusian) population with a religious crisis that demanded a response. This response came in the formation of Orthodox lay organizations, the creation of native schools and scholarly centres, and the establishment of printing presses.

The first printing press on Ukrainian territory was established in Lviv around 1573 or 1574 by Ivan Fedorovych (Fedorov) (1525-1583), a refugee from Muscovy; it subsequently became the basis of the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood press (1591). The Lviv press was soon followed by the establishment of a press in Ostrih in Volhynia in 1577 by Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, who also gathered a circle of scholars and literati there, connected with the newly founded Ostrih Academy. The monumental achievement of the Ostrih circle was the printing of the first full edition of the Bible in Church Slavic in 1580-1581. Only reprint editions of Fedorovych's *Azbuka* (1574), the earliest Ukrainian Cyrillic imprint, and the *Ostrih Bible* (1580/81) can be found in the collections of Fisher and Robarts Libraries. The Fisher Library, however, has a number of beautiful volumes produced at his old printing house by the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood (later the Stauropegion Institute).

The literary activities of the late sixteenth century were closely connected with the bitter struggle that developed between defenders of Eastern Orthodoxy and proponents of Union of the Eastern Church with Rome. The Union was in fact achieved by the hierarchy in Brest in 1596. It created a religious division among the Ukrainian and Belarusian population into Orthodox and Uniates (who maintained the Eastern rituals and customs while accepting papal primacy), led to a deep polarization in society, and largely determined the nature of religious writings well into the seventeenth century.

The early seventeenth century in Ukraine and Belarus was dominated by the struggle over the Union. While most of the bishops adhered to the Union, the Orthodox were left without a hierarchy until 1620, when a new one was established. The parallel Uniate and Orthodox hierarchies engaged in a competition over the possession of sees and church properties, as well as the loyalties of the populace.

This ecclesiastical division was highlighted in the literary field. A rich and voluminous polemical literature (in Ruthenian and Polish, and sometimes Latin) grew up, often intemperate and even violent in tone, but marked by increasing erudition and a high literary style. Partisans on both sides turned to Biblical exegesis, the early Church Fathers, historical works, as well as the Apocrypha and legends.

In the midst of confessional violence, two figures stand out for their pacific and conciliatory positions, as well as for their reforms and promotion of education – the Uniate Metropolitan Iosyf Ruts´kyi (d. 1637) and the Orthodox Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1597-1647). Mohyla, Archimandrite of the Kyivan Caves Monastery since 1627, was elected Metropolitan in 1633. He established the school that became the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, the largest centre of education and scholarship among the East Slavs in its time.

Next to the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, the most significant cultural establishment was the printing press founded ca. 1615 at the Kyivan Caves Monastery. This press became the most important centre of printing and engraving in Ukraine during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and remained the largest press on Ukrainian territory throughout the nineteenth century, surviving until 1918. The printing house issued several hundred titles on various subjects – both original works and translations – in Ukrainian, Church Slavic, Polish, Russian, Latin, and Greek. The books printed included many ecclesiastical texts, as well as primers, hagiographic studies, Orthodox polemical treatises, didactic works, and literary works. The Bible was published in 1732, and liturgical texts such as the *Evangelion* (1759) and *Akathists* (1791) were especially prominent.

As in the previous century, confessional issues in the eighteenth century continued to be of significance in Ukrainian intellectual life with the confrontation between the Orthodox and the Uniates, and the Orthodox and the various Protestant sects. Basic didactic material, both for book learning and for moral edification, grew in importance as the standards of elite Ukrainian intellectual life declined under Russian imperial pressure, combined with the rise of universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg that eclipsed the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, which previously had been the intellectual centre of East Slavdom.

Religious controversy also engulfed other ethnic Ukrainian regions, including Transcarpathia. This area had been subject to the Hungarian crown since the early eleventh century. Traditionally Orthodox, the Ukrainian population was also affected by the religious currents prevailing since the Reformation in Hungary. One result was the Union of Uzhhorod in 1646 that brought a large portion (ultimately the majority) of the Orthodox under papal jurisdiction.

In 1769, Joseph Lorenz Edler von Kurzböck or Kurzbeck (1736-1792), the owner of the Illyrian Printshop in Vienna, petitioned the Austrian government for excusive rights to publish religious and liturgical works for those nations using Cyrillic script. He argued that the works, formerly imported, should now be printed by royal licence. Empress Maria Theresa granted him the privilege to print books in the Slavonic alphabet *(Privilegium impressorium privativum in illyrischen und orientalischen Sprache)* for the newly annexed inhabitants of the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina the following year. Austrian officials were concerned that publications from the Russian Empire intended for Byzantine-rite Christians within its borders were 'schismatic' (i.e., Orthodox) in nature, and thus banned the importation of Cyrillic books without the approval of the censor, and in conjunction with Kurzbeck. This was deemed a prudent solution to controlling the Russian clergy and their cultural influence over the Empire's Orthodox populations. In total, Kurzbeck printed fifty titles (mostly for Serbs) over two decades, after which his print shop's type fonts were transferred to the Royal Hungarian University press. He had a virtual monopoly within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire not only on printing but also on the importation and sale of all printed material in Cyrillic. His very first publication was the *Буквар* [Primer]. This title was followed by further reprints or modified editions of other didactic, devotional, or theological texts.

22 Saint John Chrysostom (d. 407). **Иже въ ст҃ыхъ ѿца нашего Іωанна Златооустаго, Архїеп҃спа Кωнстантіноуполѧ Книга ѡ сщ҃енъствѣ ... Иждивенїем ... Алеѯандра Балабана. Въ Лвовѣ: В дрꙋкарни Братской Ставропигіа, #а҃ х҃ д҃і.** [*The Book on the Priesthood.* Lviv, 1614]

This book on the priesthood includes on the verso of the title page the emblem of the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood, the press which was at that time under the directorship of Pamva Berynda (d. 1632). The book was printed by Pafnutii Kulchych at St. Onuphrius' Monastery, by the labours of the coenobites living there, and was dedicated to its sponsor, Oleksandar Balaban, who was the brother of the former Orthodox bishop of Lviv, Hedeon (d. 1607). The volume contains poems in Ukrainian, a translation from Greek of John Chrysostom's sermon on the priesthood, and various other texts of historical significance.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

23 Orthodox Eastern Church. **Євангеліон сирѣчъ. Въ Лвовѣ: тщанїемъ же и иждивенїемъ Братства Ставроп҃ігіωнъ, храма Ꙋспенїа Пр҃стыѧ Бг҃ородица, #ах҃ма.** [*Evangelium.* Lviv, 1644].

This is a second edition of the *Evangelion* by the press of the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood under the directorship of Mykhailo Sl´ozka (d. 1667). Sl´ozka directed the press from 1634 to 1637, and again from 1643 to 1651. He also ran his own private press in Lviv, as a result of which he often clashed with the Lviv Brotherhood, who tried to maintain their monopoly over publishing in the city. In 1646, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Petro Mohyla, forbade Sl´ozka from printing liturgical books. Sl´ozka, disregarding this ban, was anathemized by the Metropolitan. The anathema was lifted only fourteen days after his death. The *Evangelion* displayed here includes engravings by the monk Hryhorii.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

24 Nestor (ca. 1056-1113); Simon, Bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal (d. 1226); and Polikarp, Archimandrite (13th cent.). **Патерікъ или Ѿтечникъ печерскіи, содержащъ житіѧ ст҃ыхъ Прр҃бнъіх и Бг҃оноснъіхъ Ѿцъ нашихъ просїѧвшихъ в пещерахъ ... треми Печерскими Ст҃ыіми Несторомъ лѣтописцемъ рωссїиским Сїмωномъ еп҃ком Владимерским и Сꙋждальским и Полꙋкарпомъ архімандритом печерскимъ. Втоиже ст҃ой Чꙋдотворной Лаврѣ Печерской Кїевской, #ах҃ча.** [*Kievo-Pecherskii paterik.* Kyiv: Kyivan Caves Monastery, 1661].

This is a Ukrainian Church Slavic edition of epistolary tales about monks of the Kyivan Caves Monastery compiled in the thirteenth century. The letters recount the lives, endeavours, and miracles of the monastery's earliest

monks, and are based on oral legends and several written sources. The *Патерик,* or *Paterikon,* is the most detailed source for the monastery's early history and contains stories reaching back to the monastery's foundation in the mid-eleventh century. It includes the earliest biography of Nestor the Chronicler (an engraving of whom is on display), who was a medieval hagiographer, considered to be one of the most educated men in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Rus´, an erudite theologian, historian, and scholar of literature and Greek. He is the presumed editor of the *Повѣсть времяньныхъ лѣтъ* [The Tale of Bygone Years] (written in 1113), which is a chronicle of events in twelfth-century Kyivan-Rus´.

Gift of the estate of John B.C. Watkins.

25 Orthodox Eastern Church. **Лєітꙋргіаріонъ си єсть слꙋжебникъ ѿ литꙋргій св: Василіа, Іѡана Златоꙋст. Въ Лвовѣ: з Тѵпографіи Братской, #ах҃ѳа** [*Leitourgikon.* Lviv: [Lviv Dormition Brotherhood], 1691].

This *Liturgiarium,* or service book from the liturgies of Saints Basil and John Chrysostom, was printed under the directorship of Semen Stavnyts´kyi (d. 1697) who oversaw the editing and setting of books for Lviv Brotherhood Press from 1662 to 1668 and, again, from 1677 to 1697. This book includes woodcuts by Nykodym Zubryts´kyi and of the Crucifixion by Ievstakhii Zavadovs´kyi.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

26 Orthodox Eastern Church. **Ѱалтъіръ Бл҃женнаго Пр҃рока и Цр҃ѧ Давида. Въ Лвовѣ: при храмѣ Ꙋспенїѧ Пречс Бг҃оматере з Тѵпографіи Братской, #аѱе҃і.** [*Psalter.* Lviv, 1715].

This *Psalter* was published by the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood under the directorship of Vasyl Stavnyts´kyi (d. 1730), who succeeded his father Semen in 1697. The book includes a woodcut by Ievstakhii Zavadovs´kyi who flourished in Lviv and Kyiv from the 1670s to the beginning of the eighteenth century. This particular volume includes marginalia noting the appearance of a comet on 4 January 1744. There is also a note that on 3 May 1814 one of the book's previous owners began to drive a coach. The coach driver then proceeds to provide an account of his workdays, earnings, expenditures on hay, horseshoes, and so forth.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

27 Orthodox Eastern Church. **Напечатасѧ книга сіѧ Новъій Завѣтъ, съ приѡбщенїемъ Ѱалтирѧ. Во Ст҃ой Кїево-печерской лаврѣ, #аѱлв.** [*Bible. New Testament.* Kyiv: Kyivan Caves Monastery, 1732].

This *Bible* is dedicated to Anna Ivanovna, daughter of Tsar Ivan V and niece of Peter I, who ruled Russia from 1730 to 1740. The title-page is engraved by

the artist Averkii Symonovych Kozachivs´kyi, one of the best-known engravings of the eighteenth century in Ukraine. The title-page engraving to the New Testament, typically baroque, is very architectural in form, with its border of columns and pilasters. It depicts Moses and St. John the Baptist to each side, with the Four Evangelists above. In the centre is a scene of the crucifixion of Christ.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

28 Orthodox Eastern Church. **Напечатасѧ книга сїѧ сщ҃енное еѵ҃гл҃ле. Во ст҃ой Кїевопечерской лаврѣ, #аѱнѡ҃.** [Bible. New Testament. Gospels. Kyiv: Kyivan Caves Monastery, 1759].

This *Evangelion* was printed in the Kyivan Caves Monastery during the reign of Archimandrite Luke Bilousovych. The two tones of ink – black and red – are typical of this printing press. The woodcut of Luke the Evangelist is a beautiful example of the illustrative work undertaken by the press.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

29 Orthodox Eastern Church. **Напечатасѧ книга сїѧ Акаѳїсты съ канѡны, и прьчаѧ дꙋшеполезнаѧ моленїѧ ... Въ тойже Ст҃ой Кїевопечерской лаврѣ, #аѱча.** [*Book of Canons.* Kyiv: Kyivan Caves Monastery, 1791].

This book was printed at the Kyivan Caves Monastery in 1791. The Fisher Library copy is the only recorded holding according to a comprehensive catalogue of old Ukrainian imprints published in Lviv in 1984.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

30 **Бꙋкварь или Рꙋководїе хотѧщїимъ оучитисѧ писменъı рꙋско-славенскими книгъ. Видень: въ Кесарево-царско-апостолской типографїи Восточной Кꙋръ Кꙋрцбековой, #аѱо.`** [Primer. Vienna: Imperial Tsarist Apostolic Press, by Joseph Kurzböck, 1770].

This primer was published for the Uniate Ruthenians of Transcarpathia by the Imperial, Royal and Apostolic Oriental Printshop of Joseph Kurzböck. Its text was based on an Orthodox primer published by the Kyivan Caves Monastery Press in 1751. For its Orthodox deviations, it was confiscated and destroyed, and only three copies are currently known to exist: at the Austrian National Library in Vienna, Košice in Slovakia, and the Fisher Library in Toronto.

Gift of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, 1984.

Cossack Ukraine

The Cossacks (from the Turkic *kazak,* or 'free and independent man') evolved in Ukraine's southern steppe frontier in the fifteenth century, and were a mixture of Ukrainians, Poles, Belarusians, Russians, Moldovans, Tatars, and other peoples, all predominately runaway peasants fleeing serfdom, or adventurers from other social strata, including the nobility. When their numbers increased with the development of serfdom in the mid-sixteenth century, they organized themselves into regiments, which were headed by elected leaders called hetman, who acted as supreme commanders.

They built fortified camps along the Dnieper River. The Cossacks' centre was the Sich, an armed camp in the lands of the lower Dnieper 'beyond the rapids' *(za porohy)* – hence, Zaporozhian Sich, which is considered the cradle of Ukrainian Cossackdom. The Zaporozhian Cossack name was applied in order to distinguish them from other Cossacks who at the same time had begun to develop farther east along the southern Muscovite frontier, and who were known as Don Cossacks.

Besides conducting military raids and protecting their frontier land, the Cossacks were committed defenders of the Orthodox faith. Initially, the Zaporozhian Cossacks helped defend Poland-Lithuania from Tatar raids and Turkish invasions, but in the 1590s, 1620s, and 1630s, as a result of the imposition of feudal dependency, Catholicism, and Polonization on the Ukrainian population, they began a series of anti-Polish rebellions, which culminated in the Cossack-Polish War of 1648-1657, with the Zaporozhian Cossacks led by Hetman Bohdan Khmel´nyts´kyi (ca. 1594-1657).

After the war, the Ukrainian Cossacks and their state came increasingly under the control of Muscovy, and were faced with the problem of defending their autonomous rights from the encroachment of Russian centralism. After repeated failures at securing an independent state, Cossack privileges in Polish-controlled Right-Bank Ukraine were eliminated in 1714, and abolished in Russian-controlled Left-Bank Ukraine in the 1780s. Their suppression also included the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775. Remaining Cossack units then migrated and reorganized themselves near the mouth of the Danube River; the Banat region of present-day south-western Romania; and the eastern shores of the Sea of Azov north of the Kuban River in present-day south-western Russia.

For much of Western Europe, the period of Ukrainian history that generated the most interest was that of the rule of Hetman Ivan Mazepa from 1687 to 1709. The historical Ivan Mazepa-Kolodyns´kyi was born in 1639 at his ancestral seat at Mazepyntsi in Right-Bank Ukraine into a family of Cossack nobility. In the mid-1650s he became a page at the court of Jan II Casimir Vasa (1609-1672) in Warsaw. This position provided him with opportunities to travel extensively in Western Europe and to serve as a royal emissary to Cossack Ukraine. In 1669, he returned to Ukraine where he entered the service of the hetman of Polish-controlled Right-Bank Ukraine. On his first diplomatic mission, however, he was captured by the Zaporozhians, who handed him over to the hetman of Russian-controlled Left-Bank Ukraine.

Mazepa was later elected hetman of Left-Bank Ukraine under the sovereignty of Peter I on 25 July 1687. He maintained good relations with Moscow until the outbreak of the Great Northern War, when one of his Cossack officers, Vasyl´ Kochubei (ca. 1640-1708), already at odds with Mazepa over the hetman's love affair with his daughter, Motria, exposed his secret plans with the Swedes to Tsar Peter I. When in 1708 Peter I broke his commitment to defend Ukraine from the Poles, Mazepa switched allegiances and joined Charles XII against the Tsar. At the famous battle of Poltava in 1709 the two allies were defeated. Mazepa fled to Turkish-held territory and died in exile the same year. Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742), Mazepa's general chancellor, who had accompanied him abroad, was then elected hetman, and became a leader of the first Ukrainian political emigration. Meanwhile, Peter I, having condemned Mazepa as a traitor, ordered the Orthodox Church in the Russian Empire to anathematize him.

31 *Bogvslavs Chmielnicki, Cosacorvm dvx generalis* and *Praefectus Cosaccorvm dux Bohdan Chmielnicki* from Adolphus Brachelius (d. 1652). *Historiarum nostri temporis.* Amsterdam: Jakob van Meurs, 1655.

During Bohdan Khmel´nyts´kyi's decade as hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks (1648-1657), he succeeded in bringing most Ukrainian lands under his control and ruling the territory as if it were an independent state. It was this Cossack state, itself a legacy of Kyivan Rus´, which future generations of Ukrainians tried to restore over the following three centuries. However, in Polish historiography, Khmel´nyts´kyi was the leader who led a destructive uprising that undermined and eventually destroyed the Polish state, while in Russian historiography he was the leader who led the Ukrainians into a union with the Russian state. In Jewish historiography Khmel´nyts´kyi instigated the first and most horrific massacre of Jews prior to the Holocaust. These two portraits by an unknown seventeenth- or eighteenth-century artist present the hetman in a dignified manner, more as a national hero and father of the Ukrainian nation than as the villain he was to other peoples.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

32 Pierre Chevalier (fl. 1663). *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks.* Translated by Edward Brown. London: Printed by T.N. for Hobart Kemp, 1672.

Chevalier was a seventeenth-century French officer who had first-hand knowledge of the Cossack Polish War of 1648 to 1657, having commanded a detachment of Ukrainian Cossacks. He served in the French army from 1648 to 1654, and was secretary of the French Embassy in Poland. His work on the Cossacks is a valuable source on the history and ethnography of Ukraine, particularly on the history of the Cossack-Polish War of 1648 to 1654.

33 Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf (1632-1694). *Histoire du regne de Charles Gustave, roy de Suede.* Nuremberg: Christophle Riegel, printed by Knorz, 1697.

Pufendorf was a German jurist, political philosopher, economist, statesman, and historian. He taught at the Universities of Heidelberg (1661-1668) and Lund (1670-1677), before being called to Stockholm in 1677 to serve as the royal historiographer to Charles XI (1655-1697). In *Histoire du regne de Charles Gustave,* Pufendorf describes the seven year reign of Swedish King Charles X Gustav (1622-1660), the successor of Queen Christina, and his wars against Poland and Denmark. Sweden, though at the zenith of its power, faced nearly constant threats from Poland, Russia, Brandenburg, Denmark, and the countries under Habsburg control. Charles X Gustav attacked Poland in 1655, and after some initial success on the battlefield,

discovered the enterprise to be costly and largely futile, despite support from Bohdan Khmel′nyts′kyi and the Zaporozhian Cossacks who were Sweden's allies. This lavishly illustrated volume includes maps, battle plans, and city and country views. One of the engravings, by Jean Le Pautre based on an illustration by Erik Jönsson Dahlbergh, shows the meeting on 1 April 1657 of Charles X Gustav with the Transylvanian Prince György I Rákóczi and the official Zaporozhian Host delegate, Colonel Antin Zhdanovych. The book was originally written in Latin as *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo gestis,* and published in 1696; a second edition followed in 1792. Translations into French and German appeared in 1697 by the same original publisher.

34 *Johannes Mazeppa, Cosaccorum Zaporoviensium, Supremus Belli Dux* from Johann Christian von Engel. *Geschichte der Ukraine.* Halle: Bey Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1796.

This portrait of Ivan Mazepa is the work of the artist Samuel Falka (1766-1826) and the engraver Daniel Bayel (1760-1823). The artists copied the likeness from the German periodical *Europäische Fama* (1706). The original artist was the German Martin Bernigeroth (1670-1733). Though not an exact resemblance of the Cossack hetman, the image is considered representative, given that it was created in Mazepa's lifetime.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

35 Voltaire (1694-1778). *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suede.* 2nd edition, revised and corrected. Basel: Christophe Revis, 1732.

In this history about the Swedish King first published in Rouen (1731), Voltaire devotes two pages to Ukraine and Hetman Mazepa, with one paragraph each devoted to Mazepa's punishment at the hands of a Polish lord for seducing his wife, Mazepa's horse-ride into the steppes of Ukraine, his rescue, and subsequent rise to the dignity of hetman, and his advocacy of Ukrainian independence in the form of a pan-Ukrainian Hetman state. For

CHARLES XII
Roi de Suede, des Goths, et des Vandales.
Né le 27. Juin 1682. Mort le 11. decembre 1718.

HISTOIRE
DE
CHARLES XII.
ROI DE SUEDE.
Par Mr. DE V***
Seconde Edition, révûë & corrigée par l'Auteur.

A BASLE.
Chez CHRISTOPHE REVIS.
M. D. CC. XXXII.

Voltaire, Mazepa's actions came to represent the Ukrainian spirit and led him to conclude that 'Ukraine has always aspired to freedom.' Voltaire's source for the hetman's equine misadventure was Count Stanisław Poniatowski who served the Swedish king from 1702 to 1719. He helped Voltaire with his work on *Histoire de Charles XII* by answering his questions, including the one that posed *'Quel homme etoit Mazeppa?'* Poniatowski summarized the famous *'histoire scandaleuse.'* Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* underwent some one hundred editions through the end of the nineteenth century, as well as numerous English-language translations.

Gift of Harcourt Brown.

36 Voltaire (1694-1778). *Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le grand.* Lyon: Bruyset, 1765.

Thirty years later, between 1759 and 1763, Voltaire's attention would turn from Charles XII and Mazepa to Peter I in his work on Russian history. The work represents a reversal in the author's thinking. Now Voltaire concludes that the exploits of Mazepa's ally, Charles XII, brought about desolation, while the Russian Emperor's actions furthered progress. Rather than a biography of Peter I, Voltaire wrote a history of Russia that cast Peter I as its central character, the 'civilizing sovereign.' The philosopher admired the Emperor's domestic reforms and credited him with bringing Russia to the level of other enlightened European states of his era. Voltaire's very positive image of Peter I's reign and his personal genius, resulted in later historians criticizing him for his exaggerated idealism and naiveté. Voltaire first thought of writing on the history of Russia in 1737, and wrote to Empress Elizabeth I in 1745 asking for help with sources. In 1757, through the intercession of the Russian ambassador to Paris, she proposed that Voltaire write a

history of Russia under her father, Peter I. The first volume of his *Histoire de l'empire de Russie,* was published in 1759. Work on the second volume took three more years owing to difficulties Voltaire encountered in requesting material from the Russian court. It finally appeared in 1763. The title page and frontispiece of the first volume bear the likeness of a medal of Empress Elizabeth executed in memory of the foundation of the Academy of Moscow, and a bust of Peter I in medallion.

37 Gustaf Adlerfelt (1671-1709). *The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden.* Translated by Henry Fielding. London: J. and P. Knapton [etc.], 1740.

As a young boy, Gustaf Adlerfelt attended university in Uppsala, where he studied languages, history, and law. In 1700 he was introduced to Charles XII, who gave him the position of chamberlain at his court. Adlerfelt accompanied his king on his military campaigns and battles, and functioned as the royal historiographer and the army's chronicler, documenting events along the way, until his death by cannon fire at the Battle of Poltava in 1709. His eyewitness account, which was sympathetic to Mazepa, was translated from French into this English edition by the novelist Henry Fielding in 1740, and a German edition followed in 1740-1742. The French edition was itself translated from the Swedish manuscript diary by Adlerfelt's own son, Carl Maximillian Emanuel Adlerfelt (1706-1747).

38 John Perry (1670-1732). *Etat present de la Grande-Russie.* The Hague: H. Dusauzet, 1717.

ETAT PRESENT DE LA GRANDE RUSSIE.
ETAT PRESENT
DE LA
GRANDE-
RUSSIE.
Contenant une RELATION de ce que S. M. CZARIENNE a fait de plus remarquable dans ſes Etats; & une DESCRIPTION de la Religion, des Mœurs &c. tant des Ruſſiens, que des Tartares, & autres Peuples voiſins.
Par le Capitaine JEAN PERRY.
Traduit de l'Anglois.
A LA HAYE,
Chez HENRY DUSAUZET.
M. DCC. XVII.

The captain and engineer John Perry was introduced to Peter I during his visit to England in 1698. The Emperor believed that Perry might be of service to him in establishing a navy, and in making Russian rivers more navigable. With the promise of a fortune to be made, Perry accepted Peter's offer and became the comptroller of the marine works. Over a three-year period, he undertook to link the Volga and Don Rivers, to enable passage from the Black Sea via the Sea of Azov to the Caspian Sea. Forced to abandon the project by the events of the Great Northern War, Perry turned his attention to refitting ships. Problems with payment of his salary, and engineering complications, led Perry to leave Russia in 1712 after a fourteen-year stay under the protection of the English Ambassador to Russia, Charles Whitworth. He published on his return to England a positive account about the state of Russia, and the emperor's achievements in naval preparations, and political reforms. The work was issued in English in 1716, and included descriptions of Tatars and other peoples, their religion, and way of life.

39 Henry Card (1779-1844). *History of the Revolutions of Russia.* London: Printed for T.N. Longman and O. Rees, 1803.

Henry Card was born at Egham, Surrey, and was educated at Westminster School and at Pembroke College, Oxford. In 1815 he was presented to the vicarage of Great Malvern, Worcestershire, and in 1832 to that of Dormington, Herefordshire. In 1820 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Historical Society. Card's historical works include *The History of the Revolutions of Russia* (1803; second edition 1804); *Historical Outlines of the Rise and Establishment of Papal Power* (1804); and a work on Charlemagne. In addition he published sermons and essays on points of religion, miscellaneous essays on education, Church reform, and two works of fiction. In his work on Russia, which traces seven revolutions from the end of the ninth century to the accession of Peter I, Card does not disguise his praise of the Emperor, writing: 'The effects of the hasty ebullitions of his temper, however formidable they were, still only reached a small number of his subjects, while the millions of an immense empire lived in happy obscurity to enjoy the fruits of his multifarious labours, and ages yet unborn shall applaud the deliverer of Russia.'

40 Jean Rousset de Missy (1686-1762). *Memoires du regne de Pierre le Grand, empereur de Russie.* Amsterdam: Wetsteins and Smith, 1729-30.

Rousset de Missy and his family were persecuted for their adherence to Protestantism in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. From the misfortunes that befell his mother, father, and himself, Rousset de Missy developed a strong hatred for the French government of Louis XIV that lasted a lifetime. He escaped to Holland at age eighteen, serving as soldier there from 1704 to 1709. He opened a school in The Hague that ran until 1724, when he decided to quit pedagogy and devote himself to writing. For his work, which included a brief period as historiographer of William IV, Prince of Orange, he was honoured with membership in the Royal Society

of Berlin in 1732, and in the Academy of St. Petersburg in 1739. After experiencing additional persecution in his adopted country, mostly for his political outspokenness, Rousset de Missy sought refuge in Empress Elizabeth's Russia. She named him Councillor of the Imperial Chancery with rank of colonel. His favourable biography of Peter I, which Voltaire dismissed as a 'so-called history' of Peter I, describing it as 'one of those too common typographic frauds', was first published in four volumes in 1725-1726, under the anagram Iwan Nestesuranoy, with subsequent editions appearing in Amsterdam (1728 and 1740), and Amsterdam and Leipzig (1742).

41 Charles Whitworth, Baron Whitworth (1675-1725). *An Account of Russia as it was in the Year* 1710. [London]: Printed at Strawberry-Hill, 1758.

Charles Whitworth was offered the post of envoy to Russia in 1704, as consolation for lacking the patronage and wealth to secure a more prestigious post elsewhere, such as Paris or Venice. He arrived in Russia in March 1705 and remained there until April 1710, during the height of the Great Northern War on Russian territory and, as a result of his time there, in 1709 became the first British Ambassador to Russia. His extensive dispatches and personal letters during this period reveal his recognition of the limited results of his embassy, both commercial and diplomatic, that ensued from such an unattractive posting to a Russia that was considered at that time to be strange, 'oriental' and uncivilized. He complained about travel and postal conditions, the harsh climate, lack of cultural diversions, his pay, and vented his frustration at being denied access to Peter I during the entire year of 1706. Some of Whitworth's observations on life there are well-known from this posthumously published *An Account of Russia as it was in the Year* 1710, printed by the private press of Horace Walpole, in which he pays meticulous attention to historical details, providing an articulate guide through the often Byzantine pathways of foreign relations and diplomacy in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The history includes two separate paragraphs on the Zaporozhian Cossacks which describe how they, attached to their freedom, became discontented with the Tsar's dominion which led to Mazepa's revolt, and the subsequent sacking and burning of the hetman's capital Baturyn. On the Battle of Poltava, Whitworth expressed his positive opinion about the alliance of Mazepa with Charles XII in a dispatch. And on its outcome he wrote in another that as a result of the 'unexpected defeat of the wholle Swedish army before Poltawa,' that 'This victory will in all probability give a great change to the affairs of all the North.'

Gift of Ronald and Luana Peters.

Eighteenth Century

The first documented significant political emigration from Ukraine occurred after Charles XII's and Mazepa's defeat at Poltava in 1709. The so-called Mazepist émigrés, or Mazepists, were Senior Cossack officers and political leaders who received asylum in the Ottoman Empire, Sweden, Poland, and France from which places they continued their struggle.

Two of the most important of the Mazepist émigrés were Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742), Chancellor of the Zaporozhian Host and hetman-in-exile, and his young son, Hryhorii Orlyk (1702-1759), a future political leader and French diplomat, count, and general.

Pylyp Orlyk and his family followed Charles XII and Mazepa to the Ottoman-ruled provincial town of Bendery (in present-day Moldova) after the failed battle at Poltava, where the seventy-year-old Mazepa soon died. About fifty leading members of the officer corps (along with their families and entourages), together with almost five hundred Cossacks from the Hetmanate (members of Mazepa's mercenary regiments, chancellery officials, and scribes), and over four thousand Zaporozhians, joined him there. These war refugees elected Pylyp Orlyk in spring 1710 as their hetman-in-exile. Soon after the ceremony of election, Orlyk drafted the *Pacta et constitutiones,* usually referred to as the Constitution of Bendery, in which he obliged his office to work for political and ecclesiastical separation of Ukraine from Russia, preserve the rights and privileges of the Zaporozhians and the Ukrainian people, and to keep a check on his powers by establishing a Cossack parliament or council of officers.

As hetman-in-exile, Orlyk took his responsibilities seriously and, with the backing of Charles XII of Sweden, sought out alliances with the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans, and in 1711 launched an attack against the Russian armies in Ukraine. Orlyk's forces pushed into Right-Bank Ukraine with great success, gaining along the way the support of Right-Bank Cossacks and the local populace. However, the campaign failed when it was overpowered at the well-garrisoned fortress of Bila Tserkva, and when the Tatars suddenly abandoned and abused their Cossack allies.

With this defeat came the end of Orlyk's and the Mazepists' Bendery period. Charles XII returned to Sweden in 1714, and the émigrés who had assembled around him began to disperse. Many decided to accept the offers of amnesty which August II of Poland and Peter I proposed and returned home. Those Ukrainians among them, officers and rank-and-file Cossacks, faced severe reprisals for their revolt. Their properties were confiscated and they were deported to the north, never to return to their homeland. The Zaporozhians did not receive amnesty and found themselves under the overlordship of the Crimean Khan.

The failed attacks led Pylyp Orlyk to enlist aid for the Cossack cause from potential allies in many royal capitals of Europe. He and a small group of followers travelled widely seeking support, all the while with Russian agents in hot pursuit seeking to assassinate or capture them. Meanwhile, Orlyk continued to draft letters, and meet foreign envoys throughout the next

thirty-two years, many of them, from 1721 to 1734, spent under virtual arrest in Salonika in the Ottoman Empire, until his death in 1742, in the hopes of freeing Ukraine from Russian rule.

It was left to his son Hryhorii Orlyk (1702-1759), to become the *de facto* leader of the Ukrainian émigré community after his father's asylum and death. He spent the 1730s and 1740s helping formulate and conduct France's eastern policies. He travelled to Poland, the Ottoman Empire, and even to Ukraine, on behalf of the French. It was Hryhorii Orlyk who smuggled Stanisław Leszczyński (a former ally of Charles XII and Mazepa) into Poland for his re-election and reinstallation to the throne in 1733, and then returned with him to France after the Russian intervention. Back in France, Hryhorii Orlyk disseminated anti-Russian documents to French foreign ministers, stressing that the Empire was intent on expansion into Poland. His intent was to build an anti-Russian coalition in Europe between the Ottoman Empire, Sweden, Poland, and France. Ukraine, being situated between a weak Poland and a strong Ottoman Empire, was of crucial importance in the tactical realization of this plan. A successful rebellion against Russia, with Ukrainians and Tatars attacking from the south and the Swedes from the north, would have guaranteed the Zaporozhians' old liberties.

The highly respected Hryhorii Orlyk rose to the rank of general in the French army, adjutant general to Polish King Stanisław Leszczyński, and, in later years, was promoted to Count and member of Louis XV's secret council. He died fighting for France during the Seven Years' War, after being severely wounded in the Battle of Bergen.

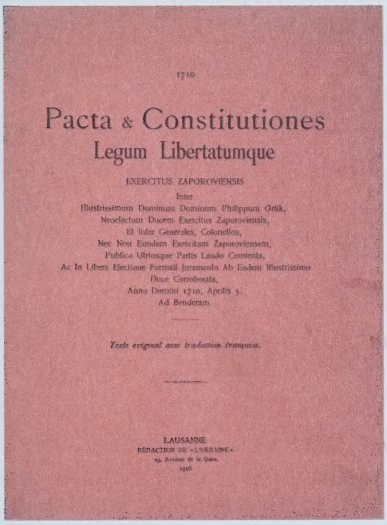
What was left of this first Ukrainian political emigration was initially (from 1711 to 1734) centred at a new Sich in Oleshky, near the mouth of the Dnieper River, where the remaining Zaporozhian Cossacks from Pylyp Orlyk's army were granted protection by the Ottoman Empire. They returned to Russian-controlled Ukraine in 1734 and built a new Sich there, which lasted until its destruction by a Russian army in 1775.

The first Ukrainian émigrés' separatist efforts failed, but their propagandistic ones did have lasting impact on the Western European view of Russia and the legacy of Mazepa. There arose in the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (roughly from Voltaire's work on Charles XII to Byron's 1819 poem 'Mazeppa' and on into the 1850s) a vogue for the defeated hetman fuelling a veritable creative fervour in Europe resulting in over three hundred works of art, literature, and music on the subject of Mazepa, with the epicentre of this artistic output being France.

42 *Україна козацька держава = Ucraina, terra kosacorum.* Ред. Володимир Недяк. 2. вид. Київ: Емма, 2007. [*Ukraïna, the Cossack State = Ucraina, terra kosacorum.* Ed. Volodymyr Nediak. 2nd ed. Kyiv: Emma, 2007].

This illustrated, encyclopedic history of Cossack Ukraine was compiled and edited by Volodymyr Nediak over a six-year period, during which time he travelled widely to visit various historical and ethnographic archives, art museums, and libraries. The book includes 5,175 photographs of original documents, maps, rare books, manuscripts, insignia, weapons, and clothing, as well as paintings, sculptures, buildings, and landscapes, all of which have some connection to the Cossack past. One chapter deals with the first Ukrainian political emigration, and includes portraits of Pylyp and Hryhorii Orlyk. The history was published first in 2004 and went on to receive a number of awards, including book of the year, the best book in Ukraine, and the Shevchenko prize.

43 Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742). *Pacta & constitutiones legum libertatumque exercitus Zaporoviensis.* Lausanne: Rédaction de L'Ukraine, 1916.


1710

Pacta & Constitutiones
Legum Libertatumque
EXERCITUS ZAPOROVIENSIS
Inter
Illustrissimum Dominum Dominum Philippum Orlik,
Neoelectum Ducem Exercitus Zaporoviensis,
Et Ordines Generales, Colonellos,
Nec Non Eundem Exercitum Zaporoviensem,
Publica Utriusque Partis Lauda Conventa,
Ac In Libera Electione Formati Juramento Ab Eodem Illustrissimo
Duce Corroborata,
Anno Domini 1710, Aprilis 5.
Ad Benderam.

Texte original avec traduction française.

LAUSANNE
RÉDACTION DE «L'UKRAINE»
19, Avenue de la Gare.
1916

Orlyk studied at the Jesuit College in Vilnius, Lithuania, and until 1694 at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. In 1699 he became a senior member of Ivan Mazepa's General Military Chancellery, and in 1706 was appointed general chancellor. In this position, he worked closely with Mazepa, helping to facilitate his secret correspondence with the Poles and Swedes, and assisting him in his efforts to form an anti-Russian coalition. After the defeat at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, Orlyk, Mazepa, and Charles XII fled to Bendery in the Principality of Moldova, where Mazepa soon died. Orlyk was elected Hetman by the Ukrainian Cossacks, and headed their government in exile. One of his first acts was to draft a constitution, known as the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk or the Bendery Constitution, which became the first constitution of

the Ukrainian state. The Cossack assembly approved the document on 5 April 1710. With this approval, the constitution confirmed the rights of the Cossack nation, and their entitlement to be free of foreign domination. Its principles were based on the idea of natural law and the contractual origin of state, and were set out in a preamble and sixteen articles. The constitution's modernity or progressiveness lay in its parliamentary spirit by which power was separated into three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. For many years only the Latin original was known to exist. It was only in 2009 that a young historian from Kyiv, Oleksandr Alfiorov, discovered a contemporary Ukrainian-language version (Ruthenian) of the 1710 Constitution in Moscow.

Gift of Frank Sysyn, 2009.

44 Пилип Орлик (1672-1742). *Діярії Гетьмана Пилипа Орлика.* Ред. Ян із Токар Токаржевський Карашевич. Варшава: Український науковий інститут, 1936. [Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742). *The Diaries of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk.* Ed. Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz. Warsaw: Ukrainian Academic Institute, 1936].

Back in exile and following his unsuccessful attempts to free Ukrainian lands from Russian rule, Orlyk spent much of 1714 in Moldova, before going with Charles XII to Sweden where he would remain until 1720. In that year, he travelled southwards through Germany and Moravia to Poland, where he stayed until 1722. From Poland he returned to the Ottoman Empire, spending considerable time in Khotyn, Serres, and then in Salonica (from 1738). He died on 26 May 1742 in Jassy in modern Romania. During much of his time abroad, Orlyk kept a private journal which was discovered by Il'ko Borshchak in the French Foreign Ministry Archives in 1920. Orlyk's two thousand-page diary spans the period from October 1720 to January 1733 (the years 1725 and 1733 are missing), and is written in Polish with smatterings of Latin, French, Church Slavic (for religious terminology), and Greek and Turkish (for governmental and military vocabulary). The diary includes daily notations with summaries of Orlyk's conversations with local Ottoman officials and European diplomats, merchants, and clergy, and sometimes what travellers reported about the situation in Ukraine. This particular volume covers the years 1720 to 1723, and was edited by Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz. Other volumes of the diary were to be published but the completed proof sheets for them were lost during World War II. The editor himself, Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, like Orlyk, was a political émigré, though two hundred years after Orlyk. He served as an adviser to the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) missions to Vienna (1918-1919) and Constantinople (1919-1920), and as Consul General for the UNR in Constantinople (1920-1921). From 1922 to 1924, he directed the Ministry of External Affairs of the UNR government-in-exile. He lived many years in Paris, Rome, and London, playing a leading role in various Ukrainian and heraldic organizations, and publishing articles on Ukrainian history, politics, and literature.

45 Борис Крупницький (1894-1956). *Гетьман Пилип Орлик,* 1672-1742. Мюнхен: Дніпрова хвиля, 1956. [Borys Krupnyts´kyi (1894-1956). *Hetman Pylyp Orlyk,* 1672-1742. Munich: The Dnieper Wave, 1956].

A prolific historian, Krupnyts´kyi studied history at Kyiv University under professors Mytrofan Dovnar-Zapol´skyi and Vasyl´ Danylevych before the 1917 Revolution, and then continued his studies in emigration in Germany, completing a doctorate at Berlin University in 1929 on Johann Christian von Engel's *Geschichte der Ukraine.* He remained in Germany and from 1932 taught at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, and at the Ukrainian Free University from 1941, living and teaching in Berlin, and travelling to Prague and Munich to deliver lectures. From 1946 he also taught at the Orthodox Theological Academy in Munich. In his research and publishing, Krupnyts´kyi specialized in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ukrainian history, and in historiography. His life as an émigré enabled him to conduct research in German and Swedish archives, and locate material on the era of Mazepa and Orlyk. He completed the text for his biography of Pylyp Orlyk in 1947, but the liquidation of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, where it was to be published, delayed its appearance until 1956. His study on Orlyk and his political activity is a thorough study, despite the author's lack of access to Orlyk's diary or other French sources.

46. Il´ko Borshchak (1892-1959). *Hryhor Orlyk: France's Cossack General.* Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1956.

Borshchak studied law and history at the universities of St. Petersburg, Kyiv, and Odessa. In 1919 he served as secretary to the delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic at the Paris Peace Conference. He remained in France for the next forty years, teaching at the École nationale des langues orientales vivantes, and serving as the director of the Archive of the Ukrainian Emigration. He was also editor of the newspaper *Українські вісті* [Ukrainian News] and the journal *Україна* [Ukraine], where many of his articles were published. His publications, 465 in total, dealt primarily with eighteenth-century Ukraine and on Franco-Ukrainian relations. Borshchak was one of the first scholars to undertake research on Hryhorii Orlyk. He

based his research on material found in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he discovered the original diaries (1720-1732) of Pylyp Orlyk, as well as documents by both father and son. Borshchak's biography of Hryhorii Orlyk surveys his life as a French count and general, and head of the Ukrainian political emigration, with special emphasis on his advocacy for the separation of Ukraine from Moscow control.

47 Iryna Dmytrychyn. *Grégoire Orlyk: un cosaque ukrainien au service de Louis XV.* Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006.

Dmytrychyn, a recent doctoral graduate of the Sorbonne, and now a professor at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales in Paris, in preparing her dissertation and book on Hryhorii Orlyk conducted her research in various French archives. She found correspondence, memoranda, and memoirs by Orlyk. Her work repudiates some of the previous scholarship of Il'ko Borshchak, who often interpreted archival documents rather freely, tending to represent Ukraine in an exaggeratedly positive light. Dmytrychyn discusses Orlyk's relationship with Louis XV, with whom he corresponded. Louis XV, who in 1729 married Marie Leszczyńska, the daughter of former King Stanisław Leszczyński of Poland, sought to reinstall Leszczyński on the throne. Orlyk and the Ukrainian Cossacks were an important factor in the attempted realization of this plan in 1733.

48 Frédéric Dupetit-Méré (1785-1827). *La Bataille de Pultawa: mélodrame historique en trois actes.* Paris: Barba, 1808.

Dupetit-Méré was a minor but prolific French dramatist of the early nineteenth century. He directed at the Porte-Saint-Martin, Gaîté, and Odéon theatres in Paris, where he presented a considerable number of vaudevilles and melodramas, written by him or in collaboration with others. His *La Bataille de Pultawa,* which premiered on 1 September 1808, was one of his better-known plays. It treats the history of Charles XII quite casually. The hero is a young Swedish officer who falls in love with a Russian princess. To remain together and to continue in his military campaign, he disguises her as a Muscovite officer. She thus passes for a prisoner of war of the Swedish army. However, Charles XII condemns the officer to death for bringing a woman into his camp. Granted a reprieve of twenty-four hours, the officer seeks to distinguish himself at the Battle of Poltava. The battle ends as expected with the defeat of the Swedes, but with the lovers reunited. Peter I's closing words to his soldiers are: 'Let us look onto this day as your entry onto the world stage, and your first steps into a career of glory.'

49 George Gordon Byron, Baron Byron, (1788-1824). *Mazeppa: a Poem.* London: John Murray, 1819.

Byron wrote his portrayal of exile, the verse-romance *Mazeppa,* in Italy where he spent six and a half years as an expatriate following his departure from England in 1816. The poem depicts survival in exile. The young hero

Mazeppa, having been caught in the arms of a nobleman's wife, is strapped naked onto a Ukrainian horse and sent off to die in the wilderness. The wild horse charges away from Poland to its homeland. After it reaches its native land, the horse dies, leaving Mazeppa tied to the dead animal. A new mistress rescues him. Mazeppa avenges his punishment and finds success in exile. A much older Mazeppa narrates this story to King Charles XII after the two of them and their soldiers are defeated at the hands of the Russian army at the disastrous Battle of Poltava and are forced to flee into new exile. Byron's poem is prefaced by the three paragraphs from Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* which describe the legend of Mazepa's horse ride and rise to Cossack Hetman. In 1817 Byron sat down with a ninety-two-volume set of Voltaire's works, from which he pulled his citations of the Cossack's adventures. He began drafting the poem in Venice in early 1817 and completed it in late 1818. It was first published on 28 June 1819 in an edition of eight thousand copies.

Gift of Peter Heyworth.

50 Carlo Pedrotti (1817-1893). *Mazeppa; melodramma tragico in quattro atti.* Bologna: Tip. in via Poggiale N. 715, [1861?].

Italian conductor, administrator, and composer, primarily of opera, Pedrotti was a contemporary and associate of Giuseppe Verdi. He spent twenty-three years of his early career in Verona, during which he composed ten operas, including his *Mazeppa,* which was composed to a libretto by Achille de Lauzières. In 1868 Pedrotti was appointed conductor and director of the Teatro Regio in Turin. He ended his professional career in Pesaro, and in the last year of his life retired to his family home in Verona. *Mazeppa* premiered to great acclaim in Bologna on 3 December 1861. Its subject matter covered the two extremes of the Mazepa legend, from the myth of the young Polish page tied naked to a wild horse and set loose into the steppe of Ukraine, to the myth of the senior Hetman who betrayed Peter I and at Poltava failed to realize his ambitious dream of an independent nation. The exploits of the eighteenth-century legendary Cossack leader were an enduring theme in nineteenth-century opera, resulting in close to fifteen operatic compositions on the subject of Mazepa in Western and Eastern Europe.

Nineteenth Century

The mid-nineteenth century in Ukraine was a period of national renaissance which saw the publication of histories of Ukraine, such as Mykola Markevych's *История Малороссии* [History of Little Russia] (1842-1843), and Dmitrii Bantysh-Kamens´kii's *История Малой России* [History of Little Russia] (1822); the compilations of folklore and folk songs, such as Mykhailo Maksymovvych's *Украинские народные песни* [Ukrainian Folk Songs] (1834), and, most importantly, the development of literary works in the Ukrainian vernacular. The first work published in modern Ukrainian was Ivan Kotliarevs´kyi's *Енеїда* in 1798, a travesty using Ukrainian themes, of Virgil's classic Latin poem *Æneid*. The next twenty years did not see many works written in Ukrainian. The focus was on the historical and ethnographic.

However, it was the work *История Русов или Малой России* [History of the Rus´ People] (1846), and its emphasis on the independent Cossacks, that inspired a whole generation of Ukrainian patriots over the next two decades. The leaders of this patriotic movement were the historian Mykola Kostomarov, the prose writer Panteleimon Kulish, and the poet Taras Shevchenko. The publication in 1840 of Shevchenko's *Кобзар* [The Minstrel] was the most pivotal event in Ukrainian literature, and introduced the notion of the poet as national spokesman and carrier of the Divine Word, as well as a new conception of Ukraine as a victim of foreign tyranny. The three intellectuals were arrested in 1847, and exiled along with other members of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, a secret society that promoted utopian Christian and Slavophile ideals. The arrests marked the first major counterattack by Russian officialdom against Ukrainian literature and the political separatism that it implied. Decrees impeding the spread of Ukrainian literature were issued in 1863 and in 1876, the latter of which for all practical purposes banning the publication and importation of Ukrainian books.

Concurrently, there developed Ukrainophile sympathies among some circles of Poles living in Russian controlled Right-Bank Ukraine. This attitude was best reflected in the beginning of the 1820s and 1830s in the Ukrainian school in Polish literature. Some members of this school attempted to write in Ukrainian, but most wrote in Polish. A good many of them found themselves part of the Great Polish Emigration following the fall of Warsaw in September 1831, when leading participants in the anti-Russian insurrection, including military and political leaders, journalists, and writers, came to France seeking sanctuary from persecution. Among these émigrés were Seweryn Goszczyński, Bohdan Zaleski, and Michał Czajkowski, all of whom published romantic works on Cossack themes. All together, of the six thousand Polish émigrés in France at this time, about two hundred to two hundred and fifty came from the provinces of Podillia, Volhynia, and Kyiv.

The émigrés from these Ukrainian lands joined those from the Lithuanian and Belarusian territories, all of which had been annexed from Poland in the three partitions 1772-1795 to form the Société Lithuanienne et des Terres Russiennes in 1831. The objectives of the association were the collection of

material concerning the uprising in Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine; the creation of historical and statistical works on these lands; and the preservation of their common national identity. Publicists for the Lithuanian Society, as in the general Polish émigré community, made known that the aims of the uprising had clearly been national independence and freedom, as well as the dethronement of the tsar and the revocation of the decree annexing the lost Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces, which were seen as an inalienable part of the Polish nation.

Back in Ukraine, with the repressions of the late nineteenth century, such as the outlawing of publications in Ukrainian, and the absence of cultural organizations, the national movement which had been motivated by Shevchenko's writings was essentially silenced, with the exception of scholarly studies, such as the works of Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Hrushevs´kyi, and the publication of the journal *Літературно-науковий вістник* [Literary Scientific Herald], theatrical and musical performances, and the activities of the émigrés.

Some writers from Russian-ruled Ukraine began to publish abroad, particularly in the Austrian province of Galicia. Other Ukrainian cultural activists emigrated from Russian-ruled Ukraine to Western Europe to avoid political persecution. They were led by Mykhailo Drahomaniv who had been dismissed from his university position in Kyiv by tsarist authorities in 1875 for his separatist and radical ideas. Among them were the economists Serhii Podolyns´kyi and Mykola Ziber, the ethnographer Khvedir Vovk, the political activist and publisher Antin Liakhots´kyi, and editor and journalist Mykhailo Pavlyk. The political and journalistic activities of these men in Vienna and Geneva, as well as in Austrian Lviv, had a significant impact on Ukrainian political and social thinking.

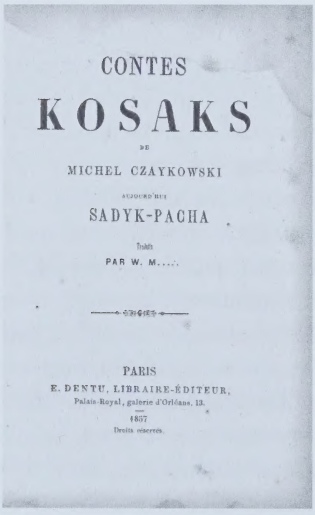
The group headed by the avowed federalist Drahomaniv centred its activities in Geneva. At first they focussed on scholarly and cultural interests, but then their activities became more politically oriented and leaned more towards social-radicalism. He and his colleagues published five issues of the journal *Громада* [Community] from 1877 to 1882, which was the first Ukrainian periodical published in Western Europe. In its first issue, Drahomaniv sketched the history of the Ukrainian national movement, whose goal, according to him, should be autonomy within a federated Russia. Aside from the journal, Drahomaniv also devoted his energies to informing western European intellectuals about the treatment of Ukrainians in the Russian Empire by publishing in Italian, German, and French journals and encyclopedias. For example, he distributed a pamphlet entitled *La littérature oukrainienne proscrite par le gouvernement russe* as a response to the Ems Ukaz issued by Tsar Alexander II in 1876 which banned the publication of texts in Ukrainian within the Russian Empire. It was distributed at the International Literary Congress in Paris, 1878, chaired by Victor Hugo and Ivan Turgenev. Drahomaniv sought to integrate the Ukrainian cause into the wider European agenda, and to defend the rights of the Ukrainian nation on the world stage.

51 Seweryn Goszczyński (1801-1876). *Zamek Kaniowski* [Kaniv Castle]. Paris: Księgarnia Luxemburgska, [186-?].

Goszczyński was a native of Ukraine, born in the Kyiv province. As a young man, he moved to Warsaw and became involved with an underground independence organization. He tried to take part in the Greek War of Independence, but did not get beyond Ukraine, where he returned and lived from 1821 to 1830. He spent much time visiting the villages of his native country where his creative genius was inspired by its peasant and Cossack customs. Seeing the Ukrainian people oppressed for long periods of history, motivated him to write in the years 1826 to 1827 his first important work, *Zamek Kaniowski,* a poem about the Haidamaka rebellion of 1768 – essentially a popular rebellion led by serfs, peasants, impoverished Cossacks, and other oppressed classes, against the abuse of power by Polish magnates and nobles and their Jewish stewards in Ukraine. Following publication of this narrative poem in 1828, Goszczyński set aside his literary career briefly to participate in the Polish uprising. After its defeat, he moved to Galicia, where he continued his underground political activity. Towards the end of the decade he immigrated to France, where he worked mostly as a publicist, writing political and social articles and pamphlets against rightist émigré circles.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

52 Michał Czajkowski (1804-1886). *Contes kosaks.* Paris: E. Dentu, 1857.


CONTES

KOSAKS

DE

MICHEL CZAYKOWSKI

AUJOURD'HUI

SADYK-PACHA

Traduits

PAR W. M.....

PARIS

E. DENTU, LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR,

Palais-Royal, galerie d'Orléans, 13.

1857

Droits réservés.

Born in Volhynia, Michał Czajkowski grew up in a pervasively Cossack atmosphere, several uncles having served in Cossack regiments, one of whom died at the siege of the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775. Czajkowski became very familiar with Ukrainian folklore and Cossack traditions. He took part in the campaign of 1831 against Russia, obtaining the rank of lieutenant and receiving the Golden Cross for valour. After the defeat of the uprising, he

immigrated to France where he settled in Paris and after some years turned to journalism and literature. Nearly all his fiction was written there between the years 1837 and 1841 dealing in large measure with topics taken from Ukrainian history. In all, he published twelve volumes of novels and short stories, as well as an assortment of memoirs. His *Powiesci Kozackie* (1837) was translated into French by Ladislas Mickiewicz (1838-1926) in 1857. The stories portray the Cossacks in the role of noble knights defending Christendom and civilization. In 1841 he went to Turkey as a political agent of the monarchist Polish government-in-exile, and there he eventually converted to Islam, taking the name Mehmed Sadyk Pasha.

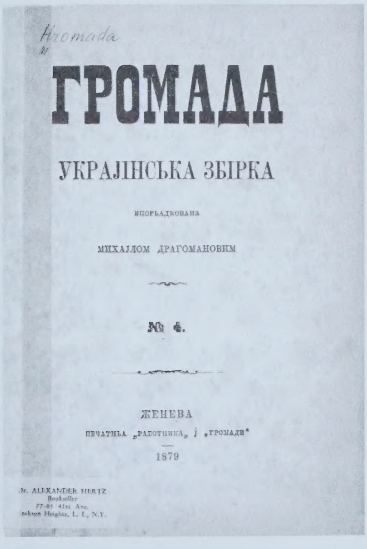
Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

53 Bohdan Zaleski (1802-1866). *Duch od stepu* [Spirit from the Steppe]. Paris: Księgarnia Luxemburgska, [186-?].

Zaleski was born in the Kyiv province, and like his old school friend Goszczyński and Czajkowski, was identified with the Ukrainian school in Polish literature, that is, Polish Romantic poets and writers who drew on Ukrainian history, folklore, customs, and landscapes in their work. Zaleski moved to Warsaw in 1820, and took part in the Polish uprising of 1831, after which he fled to France. His *Duch od stepu* was first published in 1841. It was characteristic of his other idyllic and melodic poems about Ukraine which had earned him the nickname 'nightingale.' Unlike the other Polish writers of the Ukrainian school, he did publish a small selection of poems in Ukrainian.

Gift of Karol Godlewski and family, 2001.

54 *Громада.* Ред. Михайло Петрович Драгоманів. Женева: Г. Ґеорґ, 1878-1882. [*Community.* Ed. Mykhailo Petrovych Drahomaniv (1841-1895). Geneva: H. Georg, 1878-1879].


Hromada
№

ГРОМАДА

УКРАЇНСЬКА ЗБІРКА

ВИДАВАЄТЬСЯ

МИХАЙЛОМ ДРАГОМАНОВИМ

№ 6.

ЖЕНЕВА

ДРУКАРНЯ „РАБОТНИКА„ І „ГРОМАДИ"

1879

M. ALEXANDER HERTZ

Громада [Community] was a periodical published between 1878 and 1882 by Mykhailo Drahomaniv (1841-1895) who is probably the most famous Ukrainian political émigré of the nineteenth century. Born in Russian Ukraine, into a family of Cossack origin, he received his doctorate from Kyiv University, where he stayed on after graduation as an associate professor specializing in ancient history. In the 1870s he became known to authorities as an active Ukrainophile, most of whom were united into Kyiv Hromada (also known as Old Hromada). After the Russian authorities dismissed him from the University in 1875, the Kyiv Hromada decided to send Drahomaniv to Western Europe as an emissary to publish a journal which would inform the public on Ukrainian matters. Altogether, five issues of *Громада* appeared, two in 1878, and one each in 1879, 1880, and 1882. Drahomaniv heavily contributed to each of the issues. Most of the journal's articles concerned political and social issues, representing to great extent Drahomaniv's personal views of democratic socialism. The journal and Drahomaniv were fully subsidized by Kyiv Hromada which grew worried with the content of the publication. Eventually, Kyiv Hromada broke ties with Drahomaniv in 1886 and stopped funding the journal. *Громада,* however, remains in Ukrainian intellectual history as the first modern Ukrainian political journal.

55 Михайло Петрович Драгоманів. *Нові українські пісні про громадські справи,* 1764-1880. Женева: Г. Георг, 1881. [Mykhailo Petrovych Drahomaniv (1841-1895). *Recent Ukrainian Songs on Social Topics,* 1764-1880. Geneva: H. Georg, 1881].

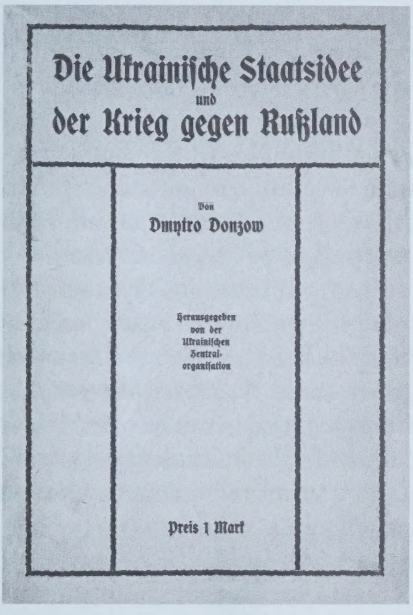
The book is the continuation of folklore work on which Mykhailo Drahomaniv and Volodymyr Antonovych, another famous Ukrainian historian, were engaged in the 1870s. Their original intent was to collect and publish all historical Ukrainian songs. The result of their collaboration was the publication of *Исторические песни малорусского народа* [Historical Songs of the Little Russian People], which appeared in two volumes in 1874 and 1875 respectively. The publication covered the period from Old Rus′ (ninth century) to 1657, when Bohdan Khmel′nyts′kyi, the great Ukrainian hetman, died. In the introduction to the Geneva edition, Drahomaniv explains that further volumes did not appear owing to his emigration from the Russian Empire in 1876, and the continued ban on Ukrainian publications in the Empire. He decided, therefore, to use the gathered material for the preparation of an uncensored collection of Ukrainian songs, covering in this volume the years 1764 to 1880, i.e. from the liquidation of the Ukrainian Hetmanate in the Russian Empire until the Great Reforms of Alexander II. According to Drahomaniv, the songs demonstrate that tsarist politics separated Ukrainian society from the European world by the end of the eighteenth century, and explicitly show how many 'freedom-loving and bright European thoughts' are still preserved among Ukrainian common folk.

56 Михайло Петрович Драгоманів (1841-1895). *По вопросу о малорусской литературе = Zur Frage von der kleinrussischen Literatur.* Вэна: Тип. И.С. Ковачева, 1876. [Mykhailo Petrovych Drahomaniv (1841-1895). *On the Question of Little Russian Literature.* Vienna: I.S. Kovachev Press, 1876].

Forced to emigrate from Ukraine in 1876, Drahomaniv travelled to Lviv, and then to Vienna where he lived for a short while and where this pamphlet was published before making his way to Geneva. This work of literary criticism was written in response to the edict of 1876 banning the use of Ukrainian language in literary and scholarly publications. His intent was to familiarize Europeans with the Russian repression of Ukrainian language and literature, optimistically believing that the world would come to their defence. The pamphlet was translated into Ukrainian and appeared in the Lviv journal *Правда* [Truth] (1878), and in the second volume of Ivan Franko's series 'Dribna Biblioteka' [Little Library] (Lviv, 1878). It was also translated into French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Serbian.

Gift of John S. Muchin, 2007.

57 Dmytro Dontsov (1883-1973). *Die ukrainische Staatsidee und der Krieg gegen Russland.* Berlin: C. Kroll, 1915.


Die Ukrainiſche Staatsidee
und
der Krieg gegen Rußland

Von
Dmytro Donzow

Herausgegeben
von der
Ukrainiſchen
Zentral-
organiſation

Preis 1 Mark

Dmytro Dontsov is one of the most important Ukrainian political thinkers of the twentieth century. Born and educated in Russian Ukraine, Dontsov started his political life as a typical Ukrainian activist of his time, as a leftist with a distinctly Marxist view on political and social matters. He went into political exile in 1908 choosing as his new home Austrian Galicia where conditions for the Ukrainian movement were far more favourable than in the Romanov Empire. In emigration, Dontsov's views gradually evolved towards the right wing of the political spectrum, eventually evolving into fascist-style nationalism by the end of World War I. In the 1920s and 1930s Dontsov was the most influential Ukrainian thinker amongst Ukrainian youth. *Die ukrainische Staatsidee und der krieg gegen Russland* represents an early development of Dontsov's move to the right. With the outbreak of World War I, Dontsov together with other Ukrainian political activists formed the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, an organization which served the Central Powers during the war. The organization hoped for the

Entente's defeat in the war, the dismemberment of Russian Empire, and separation of its Ukrainian lands into an independent state. Thus the tone of the Union's publications, and Dontsov's in particular, was highly anti-Russian. Ukrainian political émigrés from Russian Ukraine who worked for the Union aimed at establishing themselves as experts on Russian nationalities issues among the German-reading public. The book is an example of such an informative work; it gives an historical description of Russian-Ukrainian relations since 1654, and provides a basic justification for the separation of Ukraine from Russia.

58 *Літературно-науковий вістник.* Львів (etc.), 1898-1932. [*Literary Scientific Herald.* Lviv (etc.), 1898-1932].

Літературно-науковий вістник [or *LNV*] was a monthly journal published in 1898-1932 (with some interruptions) in Lviv and Kyiv. The idea for the journal came from prominent Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevs´kyi (1866-1934) who also served as its first editor in chief. Besides him, the editorial board included important Ukrainian cultural and scholarly figures as Ivan Franko (1856-1916), Osyp Makovei (1867-1925), and Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871-1926). The periodical swiftly established itself as leading journal of Ukrainian intellectual and cultural life in both Austrian and Russian Ukraine. After the Russian Revolution of 1905, when publishing in Ukrainian became legally permitted in the Russian Empire, the journal was transferred from Lviv to Kyiv. The Kyiv period of *LNV* was troublesome; the journal was banned from publishing twice, in 1914 by Russian and in 1920 by Soviet authorities. In 1922 it was renewed in Lviv under the editorship of Dmytro Dontsov. The journal continued for another decade, though it could not reach again its pre-1914 subscription numbers partially due to loss of subscribers from areas that became Soviet Ukraine. In 1932, after continuing financial difficulties, the journal ceased to publish. Owing to its broad nature and wide distribution, *LNV* was attractive for Ukrainian émigré authors before and after 1914. Among authors who appeared on the pages of the journal were Ivan Franko, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Bohdan Hrinchenko, Lesia Ukraïnka, Ol´ha Kobylians´ka, Viacheslav Lypyns´kyi, Pavlo Tychyna, Maksym Ryl´s´kyi, Oleh Ol´zhych and many others.

Interwar Period

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 began a period of over five years that had a profound impact on Ukraine and its leading intellectuals and political elite. It was a period that saw the breakup of old empires, and several attempts at establishing Ukrainian statehood, set against a backdrop of competing Ukrainian governments, peasant uprisings, foreign invasions, and civil war.

The end of World War I and the unsuccessful struggle for independence led to the first truly large-scale political emigration from Ukraine. It consisted of military personnel and functionaries of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic: out of the 158 who held posts of Ministers or Associated Ministers in the government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), 117 emigrated and continued their work abroad. All five members of the Directory of the UNR also emigrated. These émigrés were joined by Ukrainian scholars and intellectuals who were seeking freedom from Polish government policies or Soviet political persecution. The principal destinations for all these émigrés were the countries of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Romania, France, and Germany. As a result of this mass emigration the Ukrainian nation lost nearly all of its intellectual and political elite.

The total number of refugees in the early postwar years reached eighty to one hundred thousand. With time the number and location of the refugees changed: most of the refugees from Galicia returned home after Poland declared an amnesty in 1923. A small number of refugees from central Ukraine and Galicia returned to the Ukrainian SSR during the Ukrainization campaign. Many refugees left Poland and Austria to settle in France, Belgium, or the New World. In the main émigré centres – Prague, Warsaw, Berlin, Paris, and Vienna – Ukrainian political and cultural life developed independently of the occupation regimes.

From 1924 to the early 1930s, when the elite had lost any hope of a resurrected Ukrainian republic, there began the process of organized political and social life in emigration. The Ukrainian Central Committee was formed in Warsaw to provide for a community base in Poland for the government-in-exile of the UNR. The Ukrainian Civil Committee was founded in Prague to assist Ukrainians living in Czechoslovakia. In Romania the Ukrainian Relief Committee was set up, and in France, the Society of Former Combatants of the Ukrainian Republican Democratic Army. Besides these organizations, the émigré communities established schools, institutions of higher learning, and scientific societies. The work of all these organizations was overseen by the Supreme Emigration Council, a federation established in Prague in 1929 to help ensure representation of Ukrainian interests at international forums, and to coordinate the political activities of émigré circles.

Of all the centres where Ukrainian émigrés established themselves, Prague was the most important and remained so into the 1930s. The Czechoslovak government, especially T.G. Masaryk (1850-1937) and Foreign Minister Edvard Beneš (1884-1948), provided the Ukrainian

community with generous financial and moral support for their cultural needs, thus helping to found in Prague the Ukrainian Free University established in 1921 and in Poděbrady the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy, established in 1922. Other Prague-based research institutions included the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute established in 1923, the Ukrainian Institute of Sociology established in 1924, the Museum of Ukraine's Struggle for Independence established in 1925, the Ukrainian Studio of Plastic Art established in 1923, and a number of other professional and student organizations.

The Ukrainian Academic Committee created by the Ukrainian Free University in 1924 on the initiative of Oleksander Shul´hyn (1889-1960) coordinated the research activities of these scholarly and higher educational institutions, as well as those located in Berlin and Warsaw. This committee represented Ukrainian scholarship at the League of Nations, participated in international conferences, and sponsored two major Ukrainian academic congresses in Prague, in 1926 and 1932. The second congress drew over one hundred and thirty émigré and Western Ukrainian participants, out of which was produced a detailed report *Український науковий зїзд у Празі* [Ukrainian Academic Congress in Prague].

There were two other centres of Ukrainian émigré scholarship established during the interwar period. Hetman Pavlo Skoropads´kyi founded the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin in 1926 to develop and promote Ukrainian studies, and to disseminate information about Ukraine in Germany. The historian Dmytro Doroshenko served as its director until 1931. The other centre, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, was founded in 1930 through the efforts of the government-in-exile of the UNR. It devoted itself to research and the publication of monographs and source materials pertaining to topics in Ukrainian studies, and published over seventy volumes before ceasing to exist in 1939, following the German occupation of Poland.

The interwar émigrés involved in the various academic and political organizations were ideologically committed to helping Ukraine achieve independence. They undertook efforts to introduce West Europeans to Ukrainian national aspirations by drawing attention to the shortcomings of Polish rule in Galicia, bringing awareness to the 1921 and 1933 famines in Soviet Ukraine, and on the eve of and during World War II, protesting the Hungarian occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine and the Soviet annexation of Eastern Galicia. Among the better known of the émigrés were Mykhailo Hrushevs´kyi, Symon Petliura, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Pavlo Skoropads´kyi, Dmytro Doroshenko, Nestor Makhno, Mykyta Shapoval, Ievhen Petrushevych, and Ievhen Konvalets´.

59 *Український в[ільний] університет в Празі в роках* 1926-1931. Прага: Державна друкарня, 1931. [*Ukrainian Free University in Prague* 1926-1931. Prague: State Press, 1931].

ПРОФЕСОРИ, ДОЦЕНТИ І ЛЕКТОРИ
В ПЕРШОМУ РОЦІ (1921—22) ДІЯЛЬНОСТИ УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ

One of the major higher institutions created in Czechoslovakia was the Ukrainian Free University, which is still in existence in Munich. It was established in 1921 in Vienna, and transferred that same year to Prague. The statute of the University stressed that its goal was to spread higher education through lectures and other forms of learning in the spirit of complete academic freedom. The newly-created university followed the Austrian law of 27 April 1873 on the organization of universities, and qualifications of professors and programs.

During its Prague period, the University received wide recognition for significant and productive teaching, research, and publications. The idea to organize a Ukrainian university-in-exile had taken root among Ukrainian academics, some of whom had held chairs at universities in the former Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. When Ukrainian departments were closed at the Lviv University by Polish authorities and at Chernivtsi University by Romanian authorities, as well as the closure of Ukrainian universities by the Bolshevik authorities, the only remaining Ukrainian institution of higher learning was the Ukrainian Free University. Aware of their responsibility, professors engaged in academic activities inside and outside the university to help bring attention to the 'Ukrainian question' to the West.

The University consisted of two departments: philosophy and law. In the beginning there were twelve professors and four assistant professors; later the number of faculty members increased to thirty-six. Oleksander Kolessa (1867-1945), Ivan Horbachevs'kyi (1854-1942), and Dmytro Antonovych

(1877-1945) served as rectors for the longest periods of time. The faculty produced textbooks in their fields in Ukrainian ranging from history to law, to language. In total, from 1921 to 1939, the University issued 109 doctoral diplomas.

60 Товариство прихильників Української господарської академії. *Українська господарська академія.* Подєбради: Наклад Української господарської академії, 1931. [Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Husbandry Institute. *Ukrainian Husbandry Institute.* Poděbrady: Published by the Ukrainian Husbandry Institute, 1931].

The Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry, established in 1923, was initiated by the Ukrainian Civic Committee. One of its objectives was to provide Ukrainian youth with the opportunity to obtain a technical education. An additional objective was to gather together technical professionals who would become familiar with the best that a European education had to offer and participate later in the reconstruction of Ukraine. The Academy proved to be the most successful Ukrainian institution in Czechoslovakia, and continued functioning to 1932. Afterwards, the Academy was transformed into the Ukrainian Technical-Husbandry Institute, which offered learning by correspondence.

The Academy prepared agronomists, foresters, statisticians, engineers, and economists for productive work in the future independent Ukraine. It aimed to prepare not only highly skilled professionals but also well-rounded and competent individuals. There were 559 graduates of the Academy: some applied their knowledge in Transcarpathia, Galicia, and Volhynia, and helped to improve the region to a great extent; others worked in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, and, later, in the United States and Canada.

The Academy had three departments: agriculture and forestry, engineering, and economics, served by 118 professors (ninety-two Ukrainians and twenty-six Czechs). Students were mostly former soldiers of the defunct Ukrainian Republican Army. Their studies allowed them to develop as professionals as well as free individuals. Besides teaching, the Academy ran a publishing house that produced 698 publications on technical, agricultural, and economic topics, as well as books on forestry, finance, chemistry, biology, political economy, algebra, and statistics.

61 Іван Мірний (1872-1937). *Український високий педагогічний інститут ім. М. Драгоманова,* 1923-1933. Прага: Видання Українського високого педагогічного інституту, 1934. [Ivan Mirnyi (1872-1937). *The M. Drahomanov Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute,* 1923-1933. Prague: Published by the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute, 1934].

The Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute named after Mykhailo Drahomaniv was established in 1923 for the education of Ukrainian primary school teachers. This was a private higher institution with a four-year program. The rector of this institution was Leonid Bilets´kyi (1882-1955). Initially the

Institute had three departments: literature and history; science and geography; and physics and mathematics. The new music-pedagogical department soon followed. In 1927-1928, the Institute had nineteen professors, ten assistant professors, and fourteen lecturers. Of them, one was a member of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, five were members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, and others were members of different academic associations. They published their work in academic journals in English, German, French, Czech, and Ukrainian. In the ten years of its existence, 116 students graduated from the institute, with thirty-one receiving their doctorates.

62 *Les Artistes du Studio de Prague = Група пражської студії.* Прага: Український громадський видавничий фонд, 1925. [*Artists of the Prague Studio.* Prague: Ukrainian Civic Press Fund, 1925].

The Ukrainian Studio of Plastic Arts was founded by art historian Dmytro Antonovych (1877-1945) in 1923, and soon became the centre of Ukrainian art. In its organization, the Studio followed the pattern of Western art academies. Well-known scholars who taught at the Studio included Ivan Mirchuk (1891-1961), Volodymyr Sichyns´kyi (1894-1962), S. Mako (1885-1953), and Iurii Rusov (1895-1961). At its peak, in 1925, sixty-seven students were enrolled. The Studio also organized yearly exhibitions. Among the artists who participated in these exhibitions were Kateryna Antonovych (1884-1975), Oksana Liaturyns´ka (1902-1970), Kostiantyn Stakhovs´kyi (1882-1959), and Ivan Mozalevs´kyi (1890-1975).

63 *Československá pomoc ruské a ukrajinské emigraci.* Praha: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí, 1924. [*Czechoslovak Aid to the Russian and Ukrainian Emigration.* Prague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1924].

Prague became the centre of Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarusian émigrés in Europe in the interwar period. Certainly, the political, social, and cultural development of host countries also determined the development and well-being of the émigré communities. The way in which the Czechoslovak government dealt with its refugees makes it a unique case in European history. Many academic institutions, cultural organizations, libraries, gymnasia, and schools were created by Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarusian émigrés and financed by the Czechoslovak government. None of the other countries at that time had a programme regarding refugees like the one developed in Czechoslovakia. The main goal of the Ruská Pomocná Akce [Russian Aid Action] was to give the opportunity to émigrés to take active participation in the academic, social, and cultural life of Czechoslovakia and their communities. This undertaking aimed to help exiles from the former Russian Empire, regardless of nationality.

64 *Хліборобська Україна.* Відень: Союз хліборобів України, 1920-1925. [*Agrarian Ukraine.* Vienna: Union of Agrarians, 1920-1925].

This ideological periodical was issued from 1920 to 1925 in Vienna by the

Ukrainian Union of Agrarians-Statists, an émigré conservative monarchist organization founded in Vienna in 1920 by Viacheslav Lypyns´kyi (1882-1931), who also led the organization, and was its main ideologist. Five volumes of the journal were published under his editorship. Among its contents are his fundamental political treatise *Листи до братів хліборобів* [Letters to Brother Agrarians], and his polemical articles, such as *Покликання варягів* [The Calling of the Varangians]. Other contributors include the historian Dmytro Doroshenko (1882-1951), who analyzes the events of 1918 in Ukraine and Ukrainian foreign policy; and Stepan Tomashivs´kyi (1875-1930), who theorizes on Ukrainian political culture in *Історія і політика* [History and Politics] and *Влада і культура* [Power and Culture]. Extracts from the memoirs of Pavlo Skoropads´kyi, (1873-1945), who was the former hetman of the Ukrainian state and leader of the monarchist movement, were published in one of the volumes.

65 *Визволення України = Die Befreiung der Ukraine.* Варшава: С. Сидоренко, 1932-1933? [*Liberation of Ukraine.* Warsaw: S. Sydorenko, 1932-1933?].

This émigré journal was published for one or two years in Warsaw by S. Sydorenko. In its first issue, the journal included an illustrated cover of minstrels. The note published with the illustration makes reference to the tradition of wandering bards who performed epic-historical, religious, and folk songs to the accompaniment of a *kobza* or *bandura* (a lute-like string instrument), and also alludes to Taras Shevchenko's first collection of poetry, *Кобзар* (1840). During the Cossack Hetmanate, these bards lived among the Cossacks and the songs they performed were meant to raise morale during times of war. However, with the decline of the Cossack state in the eighteenth century, they survived by playing and begging for alms. Often blind and/or crippled, they formed guilds to foster new talent and to protect their interests. The *kobzars* were often persecuted by the tsarist regime for promulgating Ukrainophile sentiments and historical memory. They were eventually purged in the 1930s during the Stalinist repressions of Ukrainian culture. The journal cover is meant to evoke the *kobzars* as the spirit of the Ukrainian nation, with all that is glorious, beautiful, and brave. It is to speak to Europe about 'Ukraine's desire to break free from Moscow's communist shackles.'

The journal includes an article by the eminent Ukrainian historian and political figure, Dmytro Doroshenko, on Ukrainian historiography (*Огляд української історії* [Survey of Ukrainian History]). Doroshenko was active in the Ukrainian national movement during the early years of the twentieth century, and as an émigré held several academic positions: professor of Ukrainian history at the Ukrainian Free University in Vienna, Prague, and Munich (1921-1951) and at the Charles University in Prague (1926-36); director of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin (1926-31); and professor of church history in the faculty of Orthodox theology at Warsaw University (1936-1939).

66 *Вісти музею визвольної боротьби України.* Прага: Музей, 1925-1936. [*News of the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine.* Prague: The Museum, 1925-1936].

The Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine was established in May 1925 in Prague on the initiative of professors from the Ukrainian Free University. The Museum played an important role in the cultural life of Ukrainian émigrés in Czechoslovakia not only as a museum, but also as a cultural centre. It was the only Ukrainian institution financed independently of the Czechoslovak government. An American of Ukrainian origin, Kalenyk Lysiuk (1889-1980), subsidized the Museum from 1929 to 1944. The Museum consisted of three departments: the museum itself, the archives, and the library. Particularly valuable were the archives that contained many documents from 1914 to 1920: the archives of internee camps for Ukrainians in Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia; archives of the governments of Ukraine from 1917 to 1920; records of embassies, student and public organizations, etc. The library held up to twelve hundred periodicals titles, including those published in the emigration, and thirty thousand volumes. The museum housed paintings by Ukrainian artists, icons, flags of military divisions, etc. In 1945, Soviet authorities took away all of the material (up to forty tons). Only in the last decade has some of this material become available for research.

67 Український громадський комітет в Ч.С.Р. *Три роки праці Українського громадського комітету в Ч.С.Р. (7/VII* 1921 – *7/VII* 1924). Прага: [Комітет], 1924. [Ukrainian Citizens' Committee in the ČSR. *Three Years' Work of the Ukrainian Civic Committee in the ČSR (7/VII* 1921 – *7/VII* 1924). Prague: [The Committee], 1924].

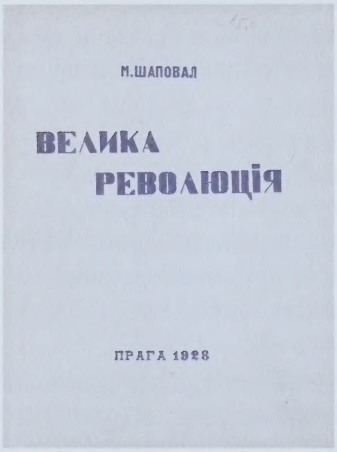
The creation of the Ukrainian Civic Committee was highly important for the Ukrainian emigration. The Committee was organized in spring 1921 on the initiative of Mykyta Shapoval (1882-1932), one of the active political leaders of the Ukrainian émigré community. This organization was registered by the Foreign Ministry of Czechoslovakia and was intended to connect the Czechoslovak government with the Ukrainian community. In reality, however, the Ukrainian Civic Committee did much more, becoming a centre of cultural-national life by establishing a variety of Ukrainian organizations and societies, helping secure jobs for émigrés, organizing the education of youth, and coordinating publishing. By 1924 the Committee was responsible for 5,209 Ukrainian émigrés.

68 *Український науковий зїзд у Празі* 3-7 *жовтня* 1926 *р.: звідомлення Президії орґанізаційної комісії зїзду.* Прага: Державна друкарня, 1926. [*Ukrainian Academic Congress in Prague* 3-7 *October* 1926: *Report from the Executive Board of the Organizational Committee.* Prague: State Press, 1926].

The Ukrainian Academic Committee was created in Prague in 1924 to

represent Ukrainian scholarship in the West. Its members were seventeen Ukrainian émigré post-secondary institutions and learned societies in Czechoslovakia, the Ukrainian Scientific Institutes in Warsaw and Berlin, the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, and several academics: Ivan Horbachevs´kyi (1854-1942), Oleksander Kolessa (1867-1945), Oleksander Lotots´kyi (1870-1939), Stephan Smal-Stockyj (1859-1838), and Oleksander Shul´hyn (1889-1960). The Committee was recognized by the Commission for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations in Geneva, and was a member of the League's International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris until 1934, when the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations. The Committee was involved in a variety of academic activities, putting out an informational bulletin in French and other publications. The members of the Committee participated in international conferences, and organized two scholarly Ukrainian congresses in Prague in 1926 and 1932.

69 Микита Шаповал. *Велика революція.* Прага: Вільна спілка, 1928. [Mykyta Shapoval. *The Great Revolution.* Prague: Free Union, 1928].



Mykyta Shapoval was a political and civic leader, and publicist. He joined the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and was a co-organizer of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. In Prague, with the support of the first president of Czechoslovakia T.G. Masaryk, he came to play an important role in Ukrainian community life. He headed the Ukrainian Civic Committee, and was instrumental in founding Ukrainian institutions of higher education in Prague and Poděbrady. He headed the Ukrainian Institute of Sociology in Prague and the affiliated Ukrainian Worker's University. Shapoval wrote over fifty works, one of them is *Велика революція* [The Great Revolution].

70 Дмитро Антонович (1877-1945). *Триста років українського театру 1619-1919.* Прага: Український громадський видавничий фонд, 1925. [Dmytro Antonovych (1877-1945). *Three Hundred Years of Ukrainian Theatre 1619-1919.* Prague: Ukrainian Civic Press Fund, 1925].

Dmytro Antonovych, an art and theatre historian, and political activist, was the son of historian and archaeologist Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908). He was one of the founders and leaders of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party from 1900 to 1905, and of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party from 1905. He taught art history at the Kyiv School of Arts. He was also active in the Ukrainian Central Rada, and served in the ministries of naval affairs and the arts. During the period of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic, Antonovych was the president of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Rome.

Antonovych was an organizer and rector at the Ukrainian Free University in Vienna and Prague, where he also taught art history. In addition, he was an organizer and director of the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine for many years, the president of the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society, and the director of the Studio of Plastic arts. His major works in emigration are *Українське мистецтво* [Ukrainian Art] (1923) and *Триста років українського театру* [Three Hundred Years of Ukrainian Theatre] (1925).

71 *Збірник памяти Симона Петлюри.* Прага: Накладом Міжорганізаційного комітету для вшанування памяти Симона Петлюри в Празі, 1930. [*Anthology in Memory of Symon Petliura.* Prague: Published by the Symon Petliura Commemorative Coordinating Committee in Prague, 1930].

The military and political leader Symon Petliura was descended from old Cossack and clerical families. As a young man he joined the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, part of which was reorganized as the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour party in 1905. He was responsible for editing several party publications from 1905 to 1912, including the monthlies *Селянин* [Peasant] published in Lviv, *Вільна Україна* [Free Ukraine] published in St. Petersburg, *Слово* [Word] published in Kyiv, and *Украинская жизнь* [Ukrainian Life] published in Moscow. During World War I, Petliura represented the Military Committee of the Western Front in Minsk, and after the February Revolution of 1917, became a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada. Following his resignation from the Rada and denunciations of Hetman Pavlo Skoropads´kyi, Petliura became the supreme ataman of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and commanded its armed forces until its defeat by the Bolshevik and White armies in 1920. After the failure of the campaign, he headed the UNR government-in-exile located temporarily in Tarnów. Later Petliura moved to Warsaw under an assumed name. In late 1923, faced with increased Soviet demands that Poland hand him over, he was forced to leave for Budapest. From there he went to Vienna and Geneva, and in late 1924 he settled in Paris. There he founded the weekly *Тризуб* [Trident] and oversaw the activities of the government-in-exile of the UNR until his assassination by a Bessarabian Jew (Shalom Schwartzbard) claiming vengeance for Petliura's purported responsibility for the pogroms in Ukraine. This collection of essays commemorates Petliura's role in the struggle for Ukrainian statehood and includes contributions from sixteen of his friends and contemporaries. The volume is considered the first biographical source on Petliura and was reprinted in Kyiv in 1992.

72 Микола Галаган (1882-?). *Десять років української громади в ЧСР: огляд життя і чинности (1927-1937)*. Прага: Вид. Управи української громади в ЧСР, 1938. [Mykola Halahan (1882-?). *Ten Years of the Ukrainian Community in the ČSR: A Survey of Their Life and Activities (1927-1937)*. Prague: Pub. by the Ukrainian Civic Administration in the ČSR, 1938].

Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia found liberal conditions and numerous opportunities for their organized and intellectual activities. Many Ukrainian political and military figures settled there, among them Andrii Makarenko (1886-1963), Vsevolod Petriv (1883-1948), Serhii Shelukhin (1864-1938), Ol'gerd Bochkovs'kyi (1884-1939), Isaak Mazepa (1884-1952), and others. Prague was also an important publishing centre and the following periodicals were published there: *Нова Україна* [New Ukraine] (1928-33), *Пробоєм* [Let's Force Through] (1934-1943), and *Наступ* [Attack] (1934-44). Many Ukrainian academic organizations were centred in Prague, and Ukrainian émigré scholars maintained good relations with Czech scholars. From 1926 Ukrainian language and literature were taught at Charles University. Prague was also an important centre of Ukrainian art. This work provides a brief overview of the life of the Ukrainian community in Czechoslovakia from 1927 to 1937.

Canada

While many Ukrainian politicians, military officers, and intellectuals, following the defeat of the various Ukrainian governments in the 1917 to 1920 period, emigrated and settled in Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland, their rank-and-file supporters opted to immigrate to North America, with many – about 68,000 – coming to Canada. Though they were not the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration began in the 1890s and continued to the outbreak of World War I. Most of those arriving in Canada were from the western Ukrainian regions of Galicia and Bukovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and they came for socio-economic reasons. They headed generally for the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta to farm the land. Far fewer settled in Ontario to work as labourers in industry and mining. Those arriving in the second wave followed a similar pattern of settlement, though more immigrants began to settle in the central provinces.

The first and second waves of Ukrainian immigration were characterized by their highly factionalized and political nature. At first the differences were over religious identity: Greek Catholicism versus Ukrainian Orthodoxy. With the influx of new arrivals during the interwar period, the divisions within the Ukrainian Canadian community became more political. The different factions basically disagreed about the future of the Ukrainian state. To the left were the pro-Bolshevik socialists who, observing the apparent achievements of peasants and workers under communism, and the Ukrainization and modernization taking place in Soviet Ukraine, believed that communism was the best path for Ukraine's successful development. To the right were the conservative monarchists, the *hetmanites,* who valued discipline, order, and legitimate authority, such as had been in place during the brief rule of Hetman Pavlo Skoropads´kyi (1873-1945) in 1918. The majority of émigrés arriving after 1920, though, identified themselves with nationalism. Many of them, veterans of the 1917-1920 war for independence, called for an independent, non-communist Ukrainian state.

The different political organizations that arose from these three ideological movements all had ties to those founded back in the homeland. Their activities were generally directed to the future Ukraine and not to improving their conditions in their country of immigration. Among the measures taken by these movements after 1918, was the sending by the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee of two delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, as well as a broad campaign by the Ukrainian population to collect money to aid Ukrainian military and civilian war casualties. Other efforts included giving financial assistance to émigré centres in Western Europe, war orphans, schools, and other causes, as well as publicizing Polish and Stalinist crimes, and petitioning Canadian and world leaders.

The most organized movement within the first wave of immigrants was the Socialist Party of Canada, of which the first Ukrainian branches were formed in 1907. Though representing only about five per cent of the entire

community, the Ukrainian Communists were highly organized and did much of their party work through the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, which by 1939 had 201 branches with about ten thousand members.

Those first to organize among the inter-war immigrants were the *hetmanites.* They had the support of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, with its Bishop encouraging priests and their parishioners to join the affiliated Sich societies. Initially the Sich societies were oriented towards youth fitness, but in 1924 a post-1920 immigrant, Volodymyr Bosyi (1899-1979), an editor-publisher, and community activist, convinced branches to adopt a more militaristic tone and help prepare soldiers for a Ukrainian army. Male members wore uniforms and took part in military field manoeuvres, while women practised administering first aid. The Sich, organized into companies, even maintained a small air corps equipped with three military aircraft. In 1937, the *hetmanite* or Sich movement, renamed in 1934 as the United Hetman Organization, was honoured by the visit of the heir to the Hetmanate state, Danylo Skoropads'kyi (1904-1957), who travelled throughout the United States and Canada and met important military, state, religious, and academic dignitaries. With the approach of World War II and in view of Skoropads'kyi's ties to Germany, the movement was forced to dissolve out of fear of being associated with the Third Reich.

Republican veterans of Ukraine's independence struggles created Ukrainian nationalist organizations, such as the Ukrainian War Veteran's Association established in 1928, which drew members from among the veterans of the Sich Riflemen and the Ukrainian Galician Army. A more radical nationalist movement arose through the efforts of Ievhen Konovalets' (1891-1938) who visited Canada and the United States in 1928 and 1929 to mobilize support for the Western Ukrainian underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which sought by any means to overthrow Polish, and later Soviet rule. Canadian affiliate branches were soon founded throughout Canada, but were concentrated in the provinces of Ontario and Saskatchewan. The branches, which numbered some fifty to seventy by 1939, fell under the umbrella of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNA), which coordinated the work of auxiliary societies, such as the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation. Over the decade of the 1930s, the UNF was able to win the support of the older immigration and a number of monarchists, with whom they shared a penchant for military uniforms and the holding of drills and manoeuvres. To raise national consciousness among its members, the UNF marked Ukrainian national holidays, commemorated national heroes, staged politically oriented plays, and held protests and demonstrations, as well as some events lighter in spirit, such as picnics and dances.

Needless to say, tensions, sometimes violent, existed between the vast ideological divide separating the various political movements, and reached their height during the 1930s, with the communists labelling the nationalists as German fascists and the nationalists branding the communists as Muscovite puppets. Widespread disagreements, from the left to the right and everywhere in between, about what was best for both Ukraine and Ukrainians in Canada reduced the overall effectiveness of these movements'

efforts. These struggles continued into the 1940s and early 1950s with the arrival of the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants following World War II. Gradually, however, the displaced persons who came to Canada became the dominant force in the Ukrainian-Canadian community, and part of their energies was focussed on the promotion of Ukrainian studies at universities and other scholarly activities, such as the documentation of the 1932-1933 Soviet Ukraine famine.

73 П. (Павло) Крат (1882-1952). *Візита 'Червоної Дружини': образ з революційних розрухів на Полтавщині в літі* 1906 *року.* Вінніпег: Вид-во 'Червоний прапор', 1912. [P. (Pavlo) Krat (1882-1952). *Visit of the 'Red Detachment': A Sketch of the Revolutionary Unrest in the Poltava Region in the Summer of* 1906. Winnipeg: 'Red Flag' Publishing, 1912].

This short story recalls an incident that purportedly occurred in Russian-ruled Ukraine in the wake of the Revolution of 1905. The author, a member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian party and then the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union *(Spilka),* had been active in organizing peasant strikes and boycotts in eastern Ukraine during the uprising. He was subsequently forced to flee to Austrian-controlled Western Ukraine and across the ocean to avoid arrest and imprisonment. In Canada the dynamic Krat quickly emerged as a leading figure in the fledgling socialist movement among the Ukrainian immigrants there. The story begins with a sketch of four hungry immigrants, freshly dismissed from their railway jobs in Winnipeg, huddled around a campfire in a rural locale north of the city. One of them recounts a fleeting moment of glory from the time when order had not yet been fully restored after the Revolution of 1905. The tale involves a group of 'reds' who take over a festive ball thrown in the Poltava region for the local gentry and notables, and turn it into a forum for making political demands: turn the land over to the peasantry, get rid of the Tsar, and establish a democratic republic and 'stop turning us in Ukraine into Muscovites.' The account provides some solace for the men, who remain hungry as their campfire begins to die out.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

74 Мирослав Ірчан (1897-1937). *Дванайцять: драма в 5-ох діях з життя повстанчої ватаги в Східній Галичині в місяці жовтні-листопаді 1922 року.* Вінніпеґ: Накладом 'Українських робітничих вістий', 1923. [Myroslav Irchan (1897-1937). *The Twelve: A Play in 5 Acts Based on the Life of an Insurgent Company in Eastern Galicia in the Months of October-November 1922.* Winnipeg: Published by 'Ukrainian Labour News', 1923.]

A Bolshevik attempt to initiate a partisan struggle against the Polish regime that established itself in Eastern Galicia after the Ukrainian-Polish War of 1918-1919 is the theme of this play. Specifically it deals with a raid into Galicia led by Stepan Melnychuk and Petro Sheremeta in October–November 1922. The play had been written by Irchan (pen name of Andrii Babiuk) shortly before he came to Canada in 1923 to assist the pro-Communist Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association with its cultural and political activities A graduate of the Lviv Teacher's Seminary, he fought with the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen during World War I, and in the post-war period he joined the ranks of the Red Galician Ukrainian Army before moving to Kyiv in 1921 and then to Prague in 1922-1923. *Дванайцять* [The Twelve] proved immensely popular in Canada, as did Irchan's 1923 *Родина щіткарів* [The Family of Brushmakers], and helped establish him as a 'celebrity.' A majority of the Ukrainian-Canadian left had welcomed the establishment of Soviet power in what had been Russian-ruled Ukraine following the Revolution. The lands of Western Ukraine (specifically Eastern Galicia and Bukovina), however, had come under Polish and Romanian occupation, and the Ukrainian-Canadian comrades looked forward to the day when these territories would be 'liberated' from the control of the lords and their lackeys. To this end they provided moral and material support for the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and established the Association for Aid to the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine. Irchan returned to Soviet Ukraine in 1929, where he was later arrested and executed.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

75 П. Пилипенко (1898-1967). *В пазурах ЧЕКА або Крівава квітка большевицького раю: драма на 5 дій.* [Вінніпеґ]: Накладом автора, 1931. [P. Pylypenko (1898-1967). *In the Claws of the CHEKA: the Bloody Flower of the Bolshevik Paradise: a Play in 5 Acts.* [Winnipeg]: The author, 1931].

This five-act political drama is set in a typical central or eastern Ukrainian village in the early 1920s. Pylypenko (the pseudonym of Pylyp Ostapchuk) was a veteran of Ukraine's unsuccessful struggle for independence in 1917-1921. He completed his high school education in his native Vinnytsia and then studied drama in Kyiv. In 1928 he immigrated to Winnipeg, where he became stage director of the city's large Prosvita Institute, and penned a number of plays for performance on the stages of Canada's vibrant Ukrainian community halls. He had a particular penchant for political drama and wrote works on topics such as the 1930 pacification of Ukrainians in Polish-ruled Western Ukraine (*Галичина в огні* [Galicia in

Flames]) and the political suicide of the Soviet Ukrainian state leader Mykola Skrypnyk (1872-1933) at the height of the famine of 1932-1933 (*Смерть комісара Скрипника, або Голод на Україні* [The Death of Commissar Skrypnyk, or the Famine in Ukraine]). Set in the period of the war, the play exhibited here deals with popular resistance to Soviet rule in Ukraine, the ruthless manner in which Soviet power was finally established there, and the arbitrary and sinister nature of the new Soviet authorities.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

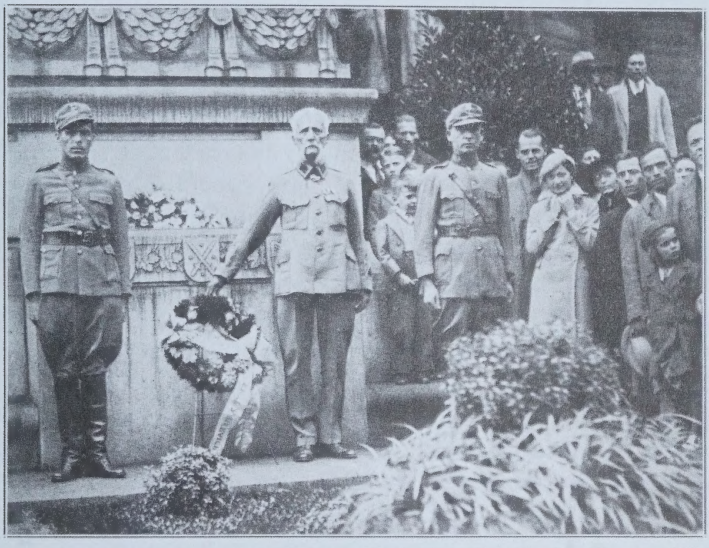
76 М. Погорецький, ред. *Українська стрілецька громада в Канаді, 1928-1938.* Саскатун: Накладом Української стрілецької громади в Канаді, 1938. [M. Pohorets'kyi, ed. *The Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada, 1928-1938.* Saskatoon: Published by the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada, 1938].

ТРУБНА ОРХЕСТРА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ СТРІЛЕЦЬКОЇ ГРОМАДИ В КІРКЛЕНД ЛЕЙК, ОНТ., ПІД УПРАВОЮ ДИРІГЕНТА ПАВЛА ШУЛЬГИ.

This jubilee book commemorates the tenth anniversary of the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada (UWVA). The second wave of large-scale Ukrainian immigration to Canada during the interwar period included soldiers who had fought in the wars to defend the nascent Ukrainian state. Generally more overtly nationalistic than the mainstream Ukrainian 'patriots' in Canada, 'Petliurites' who supported the ideals of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1917-1920 established their own association for the support of the Ukrainian independence struggle in 1928. From its inception the UWVA members maintained close ties with the underground Ukrainian Military Organization and then the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. It raised funds for the support of war invalids and the defence of political prisoners in Western Ukraine. To broaden the reach of the nationalist ideal it espoused, the UWVA established the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) in 1932. It also made the militantly nationalistic newspaper *Новий шлях* [New Pathway], edited by Mykhailo Pohorets'kyi, the official organ of the UNF.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

77 *Ювілейна памятка з нагоди пятидесятої річниці військової служби та двадціятилітньої праці для української державности його ексцелєнції ґенерал-хорунжого Володимира Сікевича*, 1887-1937. Торонто: Комітет для вшанування ювілею Ґенерал-Хорунжого В. Сікевича, [1937?]. [*Jubilee Book on the Occasion of the Fifty-year Anniversary of Military Service and Twenty Years of Work for Ukrainian Statehood by His Excellency General Volodymyr Sikevych*, 1887-1937. Toronto: The General V. Sikevych Jubilee Committee, [1937?]].



Ґенерал Сікевич складає вінок на могилу Невідомого Жовніра підчас Ювілейних Свят, 26 вересня, 1937 р.

'The fifty-year anniversary of military service as well as twenty years of work for Ukrainian statehood' by 'His Excellency' General Volodymyr Sikevych (1870-1952) is commemorated in this book. Sikevych, who was also known as Vladimir Sikewich, was a career officer in the Imperial Russian army and had served on its general staff. During the Ukrainian struggle for independence he became a brigadier general in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). He then served with the diplomatic missions of the UNR government-in-exile in Austria and Hungary. In 1924 he immigrated to Canada, living in Winnipeg and then Toronto, where he was well-received and highly-regarded by supporters of the UNR and its exiled leader, Symon Petliura. Ultimately, he played a largely symbolic role in Ukrainian community affairs there. As such, this homage to the General can be seen as both a personal tribute, and an affirmation of the ideal of Ukrainian independence. Sikevych later wrote a personal account of the revolutionary period, *Сторінки із записної книжки* [Pages from a Notebook] (7 vols, 1943-1951).

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

78 Іван Ісаїв. *За Україну: подорож вельможного пана Ґетьманича Данила Скоропадського до Злучених Держав Америки й Канади: осінь* 1937-*весна* 1938. Едмонтон: Накладом Союзу Ґетьманців

Державників Америки і Канади, 1938. [Ivan Isaïv. *For Ukraine: A Journey by the Most-Esteemed Hetman Danylo Skoropads´kyi to the United States of America and Canada: Fall* 1937-*Spring* 1938. Edmonton: Published by the United Hetman Organization of America and Canada, 1938].

An extensive and detailed account of a grand North American tour undertaken from the fall of 1937 to the spring of 1938 by Danylo Skoropads´kyi, the designated heir to a would-be monarchial Ukraine. A Ukrainian monarchist movement emerged in Canada in 1924 resulting in the establishment of the Canadian Sich Association by Volodymyr Bosyi (Walter Bossy). Dedicated to the building of a strong Ukrainian state under the leadership of the deposed Hetman Pavlo Skoropds´kyi, who with German support had ruled in Ukraine in 1918, and was then exiled to Germany, the Hetmanite ideal quickly gained support in Canada. Initially it had the backing of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, whose first bishop, Nykyta Budka (1877-1949), viewed its strong conservatism and deference to authority with favour. The movement's fortunes faded considerably in the 1930s as a result of internal difficulties and the cautious attitude of Budka's successor, Vasyl´ Ladyka (1884-1956), towards it. Nevertheless, the group, reconstituted as the United Hetman Organization in 1934, continued to be a factor in Ukrainian-Canadian life and had the resources to tour the 'Hetmanych' (or 'junior Hetman') to considerable acclaim

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

79 Українське товариство допомоги інвалідам у Львові. *Українська еміграція українським інвалідам.* Львів: Товариство, 1931. [Ukrainian Invalids' Aid Society in Lviv. *The Ukrainian Emigration Aids Ukrainian Invalids.* Lviv: The Society, 1931].

This publication provides a listing of Canadian donations, both individual and organizational, from January 1928 to June 1931 to the Ukrainian Invalids' Aid Society (UIAS) in Lviv, together with two introductory essays indicating how the aid money was being utilized. The invalids were veterans of the Ukrainian wars of independence who had served in the Ukrainian Galician Army or the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). The laws of the interwar Polish state had made no provision for the support of soldiers who had been injured in these formations, with the minor exception for UNR soldiers wounded after 1920, so that they were left to fend for themselves. The UIAS was organized in 1922 to provide a systematic means of support for the invalid veterans. It owned a large building in Lviv and operated a workshop that employed invalids. The invalid support cause had general sympathy among most Ukrainians in Canada, although its strongest support came from Ukrainian veterans who had immigrated there. The most common form of humanitarian aid for the Old Country, however, was disaster relief, particularly with the periodic floods experienced in Western Ukraine.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

80 *Declaration of Ukrainian Canadians and Friends regarding Ukraine.* Saskatoon: Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians, 1939.

This 1939 document sought to put forth a demand for the self-determination of a united Ukrainian state and to bring the so-called Ukrainian question to the attention of the international community. The *Declaration* was composed by a leader of the nationalist Ukrainian National Federation in November 1938 following the conclusion of the Munich Agreement, the terms of which had reorganized the Czechoslovakian state and established an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine in its eastern reaches. It proceeded from the premise that international agreement could likewise restructure the states which included ethnographic Ukrainian territory – Poland, the Soviet Union, and Romania – and create a separate, united Ukraine. The campaign to gain support for the *Declaration* provided the basis for the co-operation of several larger Ukrainian-Canadian organizational blocs under the rubric of a provisional Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians (RCUC). Most of the Ukrainian politicians and church dignitaries approached to endorse the *Declaration* did so fairly readily. However, only a portion of the non-Ukrainian 'friends' who were requested to do so, signed on quickly. As a result, the publication of the *Declaration* was delayed. When it finally appeared in March 1939 it had largely been superseded by events as Czechoslovakia had been annexed by Germany, and Hungary had taken over Carpatho-Ukraine. The RCUC coalition unraveled, but the brief experience had underlined the need for an umbrella group to represent Ukrainian concerns in Canada, which was realized in November 1940 with the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

81 *У перші роковини.* Саскатун: Накладом Українського національного обєднання Канади, 1939. [*On the First Anniversary.* Saskatoon: Published by the Ukrainian National Federation, 1939].

This book marks the first anniversary of the murder of Ievhen Konovalets′, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). It deals largely with the commemorations of his death in various Ukrainian communities throughout Canada. Konovalets′, who had studied law at Lviv University, served as an officer in the Austrian army during World War I and then in the Ukrainian forces during the post-war independence movement. When the latter proved unsuccessful, he continued the underground struggle for independence as commander of the revolutionary Ukrainian Military Organization from 1921, and then from 1929 as head of the OUN. Seeking a steady base of financial support from overseas sources for the fledgling OUN, Konovalets′ completed a three-week tour of Canada in June 1929 after a sojourn in the United States. He received solid support in the Dominion from the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, as well as the later Ukrainian National Federation, although he ultimately failed to reach an accord with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. Konovalets′ was assassinated in Rotterdam in May 1938 by Soviet agent Pavel Sudoplatov. The OUN split into two factions after his death. The leader of one of these, Stepan Bandera, was also killed by the Soviet agent Bohdan Stashyns′kyi in Munich in October 1959.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

82 Українська стрілецька громада в Канаді. *Начерк підручника для українських молодших старшин й підстаршин.* Саскатун: Видання 'Української стрілецької громади в Канаді', 1938. [Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada. *A Basic Handbook for Ukrainian Youth Officers.* Saskatoon: Published by the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada, 1938].

A basic military training handbook prepared for strongly nationalistic Ukrainian patriots. With the clouds of war slowly gathering over Europe in the latter 1930s, the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada began a concerted effort to ensure the preparedness of potential supporters of military action to further the cause of Ukrainian statehood. The publication of this handbook was one avenue by which this goal was pursued. As well, the campaign included a concerted effort to have Ukrainians join the Canadian militia to obtain military training. At another level, it included the establishment of an aviation school in Oshawa by the Young Ukrainian Nationalists, who had already been operating a radio-telegraphy school in Toronto since 1935. The ultimate purpose of such activity was to lay the groundwork for the possible formation of a 'Ukrainian Legion' that could assist Ukrainian liberation efforts if and when required.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

83 M. I. (Mykyta Ivanovych) Mandryka. *Ukrainian Refugees.* Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, 1946.

This account of the plight of the Ukrainian refugees stranded in Europe in the wake of World War II provides historical background to the Ukrainian

displaced persons issue. It also makes a strong case for the protection of these refugees under international law and their settlement in Western countries rather than returning them to a homeland now under Soviet occupation. It was written by Mykyta Mandryka, a Winnipeg activist affiliated with the local Ukrainian National Home rather than any specific organizational bloc, who together with his wife Anna was active in seeking to provide relief for displaced Ukrainians. Their efforts were, in fact, part of a continuing Canadian effort to assist the so-called displaced persons that initially had been spearheaded by overseas Ukrainian-Canadian soldiers after World War II. It eventually proved successful and resulted in the arrival of approximately 35,000 new Ukrainian immigrants to Canada in the immediate post-World War II period.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

84 Nicholas Prychodko (1904-). *Moscow's Drive for World Domination.* Toronto: Free World Pub. Co., 1951.

This booklet presents the author's views regarding the ambitions of the Soviet Union, and suggests measures that Western powers should adopt to counteract 'Moscow's aggression.' Prychodko was a well-educated post-World War II immigrant who came to Canada in 1948. He had been arrested by the NKVD in 1938, and spent the following three years in a forced-labour camp in Siberia. He later wrote extensively about his experiences in a number of books, two of which were translated into English: *One of the Fifteen Million* (1952) and *Stormy Road to Freedom* (1968; reprinted in 1976 as *Goodbye Siberia*). The robust anti-Soviet sentiment espoused here by Prychodka was well in line with the Cold-War sentiment of the day. However, Prychodko was also strongly concerned with what he regarded as the Russian imperialism and messianism being spread under the guise of communist 'humanitarianism.' This differentiated him, and numerous like-minded Ukrainians, from many Russian exiles.

From the Robert S. Kenny Collection, 1977.

85 Борис Олександрів. *Свирид Ломачка в Канаді: фейлетони.* Торонто: Накл. В. Усатюка, 1951. [Borys Oleksandriv. *Svyryd Lomachka in Canada: Feuilletons.* Toronto: Pub. V.Usatiuk, 1951].

This collection of humorous and satirical essays and poems by Borys Oleksandriv reflects on the life and times of a fictitious Ukrainian émigré (Lomachka) in Canada. Oleksandriv (the pseudonym of Boris Hrybinsky), a graduate of the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute, arrived in Canada in 1948, where he founded and headed the Toronto branch of the Slovo Association of Ukrainian Writers in Exile. His light-hearted works appeared under the pen name of Svyryd Lomachka in the Ukrainian press and in a pair of compilations. Notwithstanding their humorous tone, they clearly indicate some of the author's frustration with living in Canada. Two particularly prominent themes emerge in 'Lomachka's' writing. The first is exasperation with the earlier Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, particularly with the quality of

their Ukrainian language, which was peppered with Anglicisms. The 'Canadians,' in turn, were often less than enamoured with the post-Second World War immigrants. The second theme is a certain revulsion with the Sovietophile sentiment found among a substantial number of pro-Communist Ukrainians in Canada, commonly regarded by many recent Ukrainian arrivals as dupes or even paid agents of Moscow.

Gift of the author.

86 *Легіон Симона Петлюри: (Українське антикомуністичне об'іеднання бувших військовиків Совєтської армії): членська книжка.* Торонто: [б.н.] [195-?]. [*Legion of Symon Petliura: (Ukrainian Anticommunistic Organization of Former Soldiers and Officers of the Soviet Army): Membership Book.* Toronto: [s.n.] [195-?].

Displayed here is a membership book of the short-lived Ukrainian Anticommunistic Organization of Former Soldiers and Officers of the Soviet Army. Established in the post-World War II period, the use of the term 'legion' invoked the memory of Symon Petliura, the president of the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic (1917-1920). The membership book allowed for stamping or initialling a notation that one's monthly membership dues had been paid – a common practice of the era.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

87 Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror. *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: a White Book.* Toronto, 1953.

This compendium of testimonies regarding Soviet terror in the Soviet Ukraine, includes sections about concentration camps, deportations, collectivization and the famine of 1932-1933, the execution of Ukrainian intellectuals, and the persecution of religious believers. The editor-compiler of the book, Semen Pidhainyi, was himself an inmate of Soviet labour camps from 1933 to 1941. After immigrating to Canada in 1949 he established and headed the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, and the World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners and Victims of the Soviet Regime. Pidhainyi was also a long-time executive member of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic party. The *White Book* was notable as a collection of first-hand English-language accounts about Soviet misdeeds against Ukrainians, in particular the Great Famine (later known as the *Holodomor*). Its value has withstood the test of time, and noted scholars such as Geoffrey Hosking and Peter Wiles have commented on its importance to their research on the Great Famine. Wiles even added that 'Western scholars have been inclined to pass snootily by compilations with such lurid titles. But they are wrong; such records represent 'popular history' in a way that ought to appeal to every reader of *Annales*.'

Post-World War Two

World War II and the subsequent Soviet occupation of all Ukrainian territories, and the East European countries where many Ukrainian political émigrés resided, led to another wave of emigration. Two to three million Ukrainians found themselves in Western Europe, mainly in Germany and Austria. Most had been transported to work there during the war. Others were forced evacuees, former prisoners of German concentration camps, prisoners of war, members of German military units, refugees from Ukraine, or political émigrés of the 1920s. Of the forcibly deported workers, most returned home voluntarily or under pressure. The rest, together with the refugees from Ukraine, formed the core of the postwar political emigration.

At the beginning of 1946 there were about 220,000 to 250,000 immigrants in West Germany, Austria, and Italy, with lesser numbers distributed across Great Britain, Belgium, and France. All of them refused to return to the Soviet Ukraine. By demonstrating that they would be subject to religious, national, or political persecution in their homeland, they received asylum and then the opportunity to immigrate to various Western countries. At first most of the Ukrainian and other émigrés from Eastern Europe were recognized as displaced persons. Eventually all political émigrés obtained refugee status.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the International Refugee Organization administered a network of displaced persons camps which provided accommodation for about sixty per cent of Ukrainian emigrants. These camps were highly organized, and in many ways resembled 'mini states within a state'. Munich, the largest city within the American occupation zone of West Germany, and where the bulk of Ukrainians lived, served as a quasi capital of a Ukrainian exile state. Other large centres were camps near Aschaffenburg, Regensburg, and Karlsfeld.

Most camps organized daily activities into cultural, religious, professional, and political spheres. The political sphere came to dominate most aspects of the socio-civic life of the Ukrainian community. The most effective of the parties was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Bandera faction, which had first been formed in Western Ukraine as a movement in the 1920s under the leadership of Ievhen Konovalets' (1891-1938) to oppose repression and exploitation by the Polish governing authorities. Other political parties functioning in the displaced persons camps included the more moderate OUN-Melnyk faction, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP) led by the noted author Ivan Bahrianyi, the monarchist United Hetman Organization, the Ukrainian Socialist Party (USP), and many other smaller representations along with the parties' various youth units. These parties, in turn, set up international groups to help disseminate information about Ukrainian affairs, such as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), International of Freedom, and the Paris Bloc of Non-Russian Peoples.

All the political parties, whether with large or small membership, actively published books, pamphlets, internal circulars, and open press (weekly newspapers and monthlies). By one estimate, there were, between 1945 and 1955, some twenty party-influenced newspapers and a dozen monthly or quarterly periodicals circulating in the camps.

The overall level of publishing activity within the Ukrainian community, apart from party press, was intense. Ukrainian activists and writers found themselves well situated, free and secure, with relatively unrestricted access to publishing. They also had a well-educated group of readers that included some 2,500 to three thousand professionals, teachers, engineers, lawyers, physicians, clergy, and scholars, and about two thousand students. In the period from 1945 to 1955, close to five thousand books and pamphlets were published on various subjects, ranging from art to religion and youth culture. A large number of these were original works of fiction: poetry, prose, and drama, as well as reprints, translations, and children's literature. In addition, there were plenty of non-political serials, perhaps as many as four to five hundred, devoted to literary and art criticism, language, religion, economics, world affairs, and the youth movement among other things.

Aside from publishing, there was a tremendous output of other cultural and educational activity within the Ukrainian refugee communities of Germany and Austria. There were organized two university-level institutions, thirty-three gymnasia, over one hundred elementary schools, close to two hundred parishes, sixty-one libraries, sixty choruses, twenty-one orchestras, and four theatres. These organizations played a vibrant role in the socialization of displaced Ukrainians evidenced by the sheer number of events held. They staged almost two thousand plays, fifteen hundred concerts, nearly three thousand lectures and symposia, and seventy art exhibitions.

In 1947 the permanent resettlement of refugees to other European countries, North and South America, and Australia began. In 1949 and 1950 large-scale emigration overseas took place after the United States adopted special provisions for the refugees. There remained only a residual population of Ukrainians in Germany and Austria by 1951 (about twenty-five thousand). By 1957 the emigration of Ukrainians from Europe had halted almost completely, although small numbers continued to immigrate to the United States or Canada on their own initiative.

88 *Визвольний шлях.* Лондон: Українська видавнича спілка, 1948- [*Liberation Path.* London: Ukrainian Publishers Limited, 1948-].

This socio-political and literary monthly issued by the émigré Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-Bandera faction) was available only to the faction's members in its first two years of publication. The journal includes programmatic documents and ideological articles by, among many others, Dmytro Dontsov, Iaroslav Stets´ko (1912-1986), and Stepan Bandera (1909-1959). Aside from covering international and Soviet politics, and the history of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the journal published art, music, and literary criticism, works of original poetry and fiction, memoirs, and documents of *Samizdat.* The cover design with the trident logo is by the graphic artist Rostyslav Lisovs´kyi and has remained the same since the journal's first issue.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

89 *Визвольна політика.* [Німеччина]: Провід закордонних частин ОУН, 1946-1949. [*Liberation Politics.* [Germany]:External Units of the OUN, 1946-1949].

In 1946 the External Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (ZCHOUN) were formed in Munich under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, who was head of the national executive of the OUN in Galicia from 1933 to 1939, and head of the OUN(b), or opposing faction, from 1940 until his death. *Визвольна політика* [Liberation Politics] was the principal organ of the ZCHOUN. Edited by Ivan Vovchuk and M. Myronenko, twenty issues were published. The contents included political documents, organizational-strategic articles, economic studies, historical material, and bibliographical notices.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

90 *Голос державника.* [Ауґсбурґ]: Золотоверхий Київ, 1947. [*Voice of the Statist.* [Augsburg]: Golden-Domed Kyiv, 1947]:

Six issues of this monthly monarchist periodical were published in Augsburg, Germany in 1947. Among the authors were Ivan Mirchuk (1891-1961) and Lev Okinshevych (1898-1980), both members of the émigré hetmanite movement, Union of Hetmanites-Statists.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

91 *Pour la liberté des peuples.* [S.l. (Munich?)]: The Committee of the Antibolshevist Block of Nations, 1946.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was an umbrella organization for anti-communist political organizations from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. A conference was held on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1943, near the city Zhytomyr, with an agenda of abolishing the Soviet Union and promoting independent states for non-Russian peoples. The ABN was formalized in Munich in 1945, largely through the financial backing of the OUN-Bandera faction and the Ukrainian Liberation Front, and under the leadership of Iaroslav Stets´ko. Within its purview were member groups of other East European nationalities. The ABN advanced its message through the publication of pamphlets, books, and periodicals in various languages, including *Pour la liberté des peuples,* which included articles written in French, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and English.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

92 Володимир Мурович. *Гр.-католицька церква в житті українського народу (з українського національного становища).* Маріентал: Українська християнська організація 'Рух' в Міндені,

1946. [Volodymyr Murovych. *The Gr.-Catholic Church in the Life of the Ukrainian People (From the Ukrainian National Viewpoint).* Marienthal: Ukrainian Christian Organization 'Rukh' in Minden, 1946].

Prior to World War II, there existed only two Ukrainian Catholic Churches in all of Austria and Germany. One was established in Vienna under the Habsburgs in 1784 and the other in Berlin in 1910. These two cities had been the traditional centres of most of the earlier Ukrainian immigration. When the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine began in 1939, many from this area fled to Germany. As a result the Holy See created an Apostolic Visitature with special jurisdiction over all Ukrainians on the territory of the Third Reich. By 1942 the Visitature had twenty Ukrainian priests and five bi-ritual German assistants under its jurisdiction. Many of these refugees together with new ones arriving after the collapse of Nazi Germany ended up in camps run by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Catholics made up about sixty-five per cent of the total Ukrainian refugee population. Parishes were set up in most camps, so that by 1947 there were 120 of them along with smaller missions, served by 120 priests with 58,278 registered adherents. The Ukrainian Catholic Visitature, headed from 1946 by Bishop Ivan Buchko (1891-1974), also set up church organizations, and a theological seminary in Hirschberg (later transferred to Culemborg in the Netherlands). The Church was an important spiritual substitute for the homeland from which the refugees had escaped. Its existence in Western Europe was all the more important after its Soviet-supervised liquidation in Ukraine in 1946.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

93 *Богословський вісник.* Аугсбург: Св. Синод УАПЦ, 1948. [*Theological Herald.* Augsburg: Holy Synod of the UAOC, 1948].

This periodical was published in two issues by the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) in postwar Germany under the editorship of Neofit Kybaliuk. Most Ukrainian refugees of the Orthodox faith, who in 1948 represented about thirty-three per cent of the Ukrainian population, were under the pastoral care of the UAOC headed by Archbishop Polikarp Sikors'kyi (1875-1953). They formed a total of seventy-one Orthodox parishes in the displaced persons camps which became the focal point of their social and cultural life. By the end of 1948 the UAOC had a total of 103 clergymen, of whom eighty-two were active. The Church established the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological-Scientific Academy in 1946 to prepare texts, translations, and periodicals, and to provide a theological education. Many of its faculty members were academics from interwar Ukrainian scholarly centres in Prague, Berlin, and Warsaw, as well as from pre-1941 Soviet Ukrainian academic institutions. Through its pastoral, educational, and publicist activities, the UAOC, despite a split at the Aschaffenburg Conference in 1947, was able to preserve many aspects of the Ukrainian Orthodox legacy after the Church had been destroyed in Soviet Ukraine. It

provided some sixty thousand Ukrainian Orthodox refugees with spiritual care and with a religious-ecclesiastical structure to their lives.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

94 *Орлик.* Берхтесґаден: [б.н.], 1946-1948. [*Orlyk.* Berchtesgaden: [s.n.], 1946-1948].

The socio-cultural monthly *Orlyk* published in Berchtesgaden, Germany, documented life among Ukrainian displaced persons. The journal was edited by Toma Lapychak. A total of twenty-two issues were published from June 1946 to March 1948. Its contributors included some of the leading émigré intellectuals of the period: Bohdan Kravtsiv, Ostap Hrytsai, Iurii Boiko, Borys Krupnyts´kyi, Mykhailo Orest, Mykola Shlemkovych, Viktor Petrov, Volodymyr Derzhavyn, and Leonid Bilets´kyi.

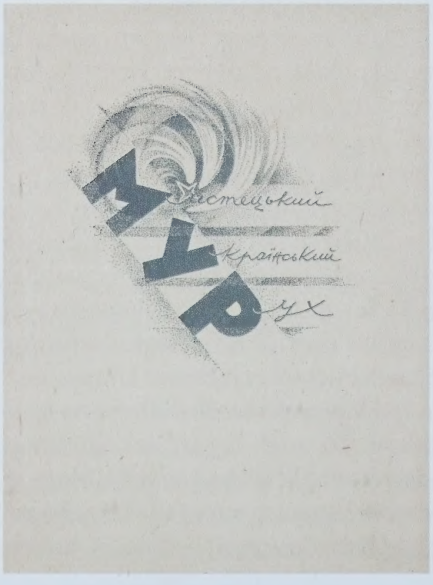
Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

95 *Сьогочасне і минуле.* Мюнхен: Час, 1948-1949. [*Present and Past.* Munich: Time, 1948-1949].

Originally published in Lviv by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1939, this Ukrainian studies journal was renewed for two issues only in Munich under the editorship of Zenon Kuzelia (1882-1952) and Oleksander Kulchyts´kyi (1895-1980) after World War II. The journal's contributors wrote on all aspects of Ukrainian life in the displaced persons camps: art, culture, scholarship, community affairs, obituaries, bibliographical notices, and reviews.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

96 *МУР.* Мюнхен; Карльсфельд: Золота брама, 1946-1947. [*мур.* Munich; Karlsfeld: Golden Gate, 1946-1947].



This journal was the mouthpiece of the *Mystets´kyi ukraïns´kyi rukh* [Union of Ukrainian Writers, or MUR], an organization initiated in September 1945, which remained active for three years. The original organizers included: Ivan Bahrianyi, Volodymyr Domontovych, Iurii Kosach, Ihor Kostets´kyi, Ivan Maistrenko, and Iurii Sherekh. In their founding declaration the group which sought to be an all-embracing, intellectual movement, declared that among its aims was the desire to serve 'its people in highly artistic and perfect forms and in so doing to win for itself a voice and authority in world art,' and 'to create by artistic means a synthesizing picture of Ukraine, its spirituality in the past, now and tomorrow.' Aside from the periodical on display, MUR published a single issue of an almanac, the literary-art journal *Арка* [Arc], and several editions in the series *Mala biblioteka* MURU-*u* [Little Library of MUR]. Among the Fisher Library holdings is the almanac, *Арка,* and four volumes from the book series. The organization also arranged writers' congresses, and conferences devoted to literature. Its brief existence and limited publishing ventures were the result of at least three factors: first, the group's inability to secure a printing press of their own; second, the almost immediate departure of many writers to North America, including the organization's elected head, Ulas Samchuk (1905-1987), who departed for Canada in 1947; and third, internal disagreements within the movement.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

97 Михайло Орест (1901-1963). *Душа і доля.* Авґсбурґ: Брама Софії, 1946. [Mykhailo Orest (1901-1963). *The Soul and Fate.* Augsburg: Sophia's Gate, 1946].

Orest, the pseudonym of Mykhailo Zerov, was a poet and translator, and brother of the well-known literary historian Mykola Zerov. As a young man, he was arrested twice and spent four years behind bars. His first poems appeared in the Lviv newspaper *Нові дні* [New Days] in 1942. He began to publish poetry seriously, only on immigrating to Germany in 1944, issuing four collections of verse in his lifetime, and one posthumously. He also produced translations of German and French poetry and prose. *Душа і доля* [The Soul and Fate] is his second collection. His additional legacy was publicizing and disseminating his brother's works by the printing of his unpublished material or rare collections. His brother Mykola, an outstanding poet, was executed in 1937 by a Gulag firing squad.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

98 О. Данський. *Хочу жити: образки з німецьких концентраційних таборів.* Мюнхен: Українська видавнича спілка, 1946. [O. Dans´kyi. *I Want to Live: Pictures of German Concentration Camps.* Munich: Ukrainian Publishing Company, 1946].

This memoir by Danylo Chaikovs´kyi (1909-1972) with the subtitle 'pictures of German concentration camps' was published under his pseudonym. Chaikovs´kyi was a journalist, writer, and a member of the

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). His involvement in underground political activities began at the age of eighteen, when he began to transport and conceal prohibited publications, and, at times, weapons. Aside from this clandestine work, he was involved in local theatre troupes, and published a literary-satirical periodical. He was arrested twice in the 1930s by Polish authorities, but was able to evade sentence. On the eve of World War II, Chaikovs´kyi was working for the publisher of *Нове село* [New Village], a Lviv weekly, and with the war's outbreak had moved to Kraków where he worked for the publisher of *Краківські вісті* [Kraków News]. The OUN soon engaged him for propaganda work, delegating him to run its publishing activities (e.g. programmatic documents, manuals, etc.). He was arrested in 1941 and spent time in prisons and concentration camps in Lviv, Kraków, Auschwitz, and elsewhere, finally ending up at Ebensee until the end of the war. Chaikovs´kyi settled in Munich, and lived and worked for a short period in Paris. In both cities, he continued to be involved in publishing (as well as in the OUN), editing the newspapers *Українець* [The Ukrainian] and *Шлях перемоги* [Way to Victory]. He spent his final five years in the United States.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

99 Володимир Мартинець (1899-1960). *Brätz – німецький концентраційний табір: спогади вязня.* Штутґарт: [Т-во українських політвязнів], 1946. [Volodymyr Martynets´ (1899-1960). *Brätz – German Concentration Camp: Memoirs of a Prisoner.* Stuttgart: [Society of Ukrainian Political Prisoners], 1946.]

Martynets´ was a journalist and political activist who served in the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and was a gubernial official for several regions in northwestern Ukraine under the Hetman government. After his discharge he went on to study law at Lviv University (1920-1923), economics at the Higher Commercial School in Prague (1923-1926), political science and journalism in Berlin (1927-1929), and philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris (1934-1936). Throughout his studies, Martynets´ played an important role in Ukrainian student organizations, and engaged in writing and editing. He edited the official organs of the Group of Ukrainian National Youth and of the Ukrainian Student Council. In the interim years between Berlin and Paris, Martynets´ took part in the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists that gave birth to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. When he returned from Paris to Lviv, he directed the Literary-Artistic Club and presided over the Association of Ukrainian Journalists, and secretly led the OUN-Melnyk faction in Western Ukraine from 1941 to 1942. He was imprisoned by the Germans in 1944 at the Brätz concentration camp. His memoirs as a prisoner were published in Stuttgart in 1946. Martynets´ immigrated to Canada in 1949 where he continued his work as a writer and editor.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

100 Олекса Степовий (1913-). *Ясир.* Мюнхен: Вид-во 'Гільце', 1947. [Oleksa Stepovyi (1913-). *Tatar Slave.* Munich: 'Hil´tse' Publishers, 1947].

Oleksa Voropai, who wrote under the pseudonym Stepovyi, published this collection of letters, notes, and versified accounts of various Ukrainians transported to Germany as forced labourers. As a child, when the Bolsheviks occupied his native Odessa in 1918, his father was forced go abroad. His mother moved with her three children to the area of Kherson, where she perished during the 1932-1933 famine, the theme of one of his later works *The Ninth Circle* (1953). Voropai went on to study in Uman, in central Ukraine, and in Moscow, where he completed a degree in agronomy in 1940. From the years 1941 to 1944 he worked in southern Ukraine, the northern Caucasus, and, prior to emigrating, in western Ukraine. In emigration, he participated actively in the publishing activities of various Ukrainian journals and newspapers in Germany, took part in the congresses of the *Mystets´kyi ukraïns´kyi rukh* [Union of Ukrainian Writers], and studied at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. From 1948 he lived in England, where he received doctorates in Slavic ethnology (1957) and biology (1961). His work *Ясир* [Tatar Slave] came out in a second edition in London in 1966.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

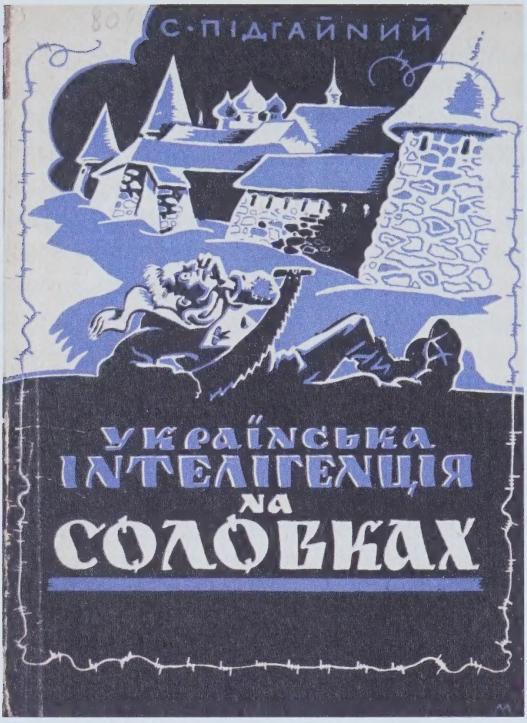
101 В. Коваль. *Ми Українці.* [Німеччина], 1948. [V. Koval´. *We are Ukrainians.* [Germany], 1948.

Valentyn Koval´ was the editor of a Ukrainian newspaper in Kherson, and active in the region's anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet underground movement organized by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. He was arrested by the Gestapo and sentenced to four years in a concentration camp in Buchenwald, Germany. While in transit to another camp where he was likely to be put to death, he managed to escape and ended up in a displaced person camp in Augsburg. He relates in this memoir the time he spent in German concentration camps, and includes a report documenting a four-month period in 1942 when the Gestapo in Kherson targeted the Ukrainian population with the following results: 102 shot, twenty-five hung, and fifty sent to concentration camps. Upon immigrating to the United States, he was active in the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Youth Association.

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

102 Семен Підгайний (1907-1965). *Українська інтеліґенція на Соловках: спогади* 1933-1941. [Новий Ульм]: Прометей, 1947. [Semen Pidhainyi (1907-1965). *The Ukrainian Intelligentsia in the Solovetski Islands: Memoirs* 1933-1941. [Neu Ulm]: Prometheus, 1947].

This memoir by Semen Pidhainyi describes life in the Soviet camp on the Solovetski Islands, where he was sentenced to hard labour from 1933 to 1941. Prior to his imprisonment, Pidhainyi, a graduate of the Kyiv Institute of People's Education, studied under the historian Oleksander Ohloblyn (1899-1992), was a researcher at the Museum of Slobidska Ukraine in Kharkiv, and a teacher of Ukrainian history at the Kharkiv Institutes of People's Culture and



of Art. As a member of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, he was arrested for his involvement in anti-Soviet activities, and sent to the Islands in early 1933, towards the end of the forced famine in Ukraine. In the memoirs, he relates the tragic fates of certain intellectuals of various nationalities imprisoned with him. His work stands out in its high literary quality, with each narrative reading like a novella, with fully developed psychological and intimate portraits of the camp's victims. He fled from the Soviet Union in 1943, and immigrated first to Germany, and then to Canada in 1949. In Canada he organized and headed the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror. His memoir has come out in at least three fairly contemporary editions in Ukraine, and a related work was translated into English as *Islands of Death* (Toronto, 1953).

Gift of the estate of John Luczkiw, 1982.

Soviet Dissidents

After World War II, it is difficult to speak of any further mass political emigrations from Ukraine, although individuals facing persecution in Soviet Ukraine did continue to immigrate to the West. There did exist, however, what we might refer to as an internal émigré community within Ukraine, which was made up of political dissidents, some of whom did eventually manage to leave the Soviet Union.

After the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, a small window opened during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras that allowed for somewhat more open criticism of the Soviet system and its policy of Russification by intellectuals, and saw in Soviet Ukraine the opening up of Ukrainian linguistic and cultural rights.

The group of writers that took advantage of de-Stalinization and the quasi-cultural awakening was identified as the 'Sixtiers', the most prominent of this group being the literary critic Ivan Dziuba (1931-). They were a new generation of writers, critics, and poets who demanded the end of party interference in the creation of art and literature, and the recognition of the central role of the Ukrainian language in the education and cultural activity of the Ukrainian republic. They also sought greater civil, religious, and national rights, and the adherence to the Soviet constitution. Their activism drew support from the younger generation of intellectuals. They were not a large group, numbering not more than a thousand at any one time, but they did attract thousands of supporters and sympathizers. The dissidents were able to draw a large crowd in 1963 to an official Conference on Culture and Language held at Kyiv University. There they demanded the institution of Ukrainian as the official language of the republic, and for Ukrainians to be recognized as a national minority.

The dissidents came from diverse regions of Ukraine, though generally from urban centres; some were committed communists, most were well educated (either professional intellectuals or students), though workers and peasants were also represented. Their public expressions of dissent took place from Lviv to Kyiv, in western and central Ukraine, and from Dnipropetrovsk to Donesk, in southern and eastern Ukraine. The chief goal for some, though not for all, was reform within the Soviet Union – greater national autonomy and improved civil liberties – and not the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. In this goal, they cooperated with fellow dissidents of other nationalities. Others wanted full self-determination for Ukraine.

The openness of the 1960s and 1970s, however, was fairly limited. Though writers, poets, and other cultural figures no longer faced collective arrests, purges, and death sentences, they still faced censorship, and the possibility of losing their jobs, expulsion from schools, reprisals to their kin, eviction from apartments, and arrest. One wave of arrests occurred in 1965-1966, after public demonstrations in Kyiv following the destruction by fire of the manuscript collection at the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1972 another wave of arrests took place that had more severe consequences for those caught up in the dragnet, since many lost their teaching,

research, or editorial positions. Those arrested often faced long years of hard labour or confinement in psychiatric hospitals.

The dissidents received support from the West in the form of the publication and distribution of *Samizdat,* such as the journal *Український вісник* [Ukrainian Herald]. Within Ukraine, in 1975, they also had the backing of the monitoring organization the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which came into existence after the Soviet Union signed the Helsinki Accords agreeing to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief. The writer Mykola Rudenko (1920-2004) headed the Group, with the assistance of the former general Petro Grigorenko (1907-1987). However, neither Western censure nor the Helsinki Group's monitoring efforts prevented continuing Soviet reprisals against the dissidents, with many, including most of the members of the Helsinki Group, being either sentenced to long prison terms or exile, or in some cases allowed to emigrate.

Besides the *Ukrainian Herald,* other Ukrainian *Samizdat* documents were widely distributed in the West, often in translation. This material and the co-operation of Ukrainian political prisoners with prisoners of other nationalities brought about a receptive attitude in Western progressive circles to the political positions of the Ukrainian dissident movement. In addition, dissidents such as Leonid Plyushch, Petro Grigorenko, Valentyn Moroz, Nadiia Svitlychna, Sviatoslav Karavans´kyi, Nina Strokata, and Volodymyr Malynkovych contributed significantly to the dissemination of the ideas of the Ukrainian dissident movement after their arrival in the West.

103 *Український вісник.* Париж; Балтимор: Смолоскип, 1970-1988. [*Ukrainian Herald.* Paris; Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1970-1988].

This underground socio-political journal prepared in Ukraine but published in the West from January 1970 to March 1972 (issues 1-6), and, again, from August 1987 to March 1989 (issues 7-14), was founded and edited by Viacheslav Chornovil. *Український вісник* contained articles defending human rights in Ukraine, and exposing Russification and Russian chauvinism. It published information about repressions against Ukrainian intellectuals, including reports on closed trials, prison and camp conditions, and the texts of defence speeches and protest letters. Besides reports and materials on the human rights movement, it published analytical articles on political questions, and literary works by persecuted writers. The material for the journal was smuggled to Prešov, Slovakia, and from there westwards where its contents were reprinted by Smoloskyp Publishers in the United States, Suchasnist in Germany, or Ukrainian Publishers in England. Copies were then distributed back in Ukraine and circulated in photocopies or other means of reproduction. The journal ceased publication in 1972 upon the arrest of Chornovil. He resumed editing it on his release the 1980s. Issues 11 to 14 were published by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The journal was severely criticized by the Soviet press, which denounced its editors as Ukrainian 'bourgeois nationalists' and agents of Western imperialism.

104 Петро Григоренко (1907-1987). *Спогади.* Переклад Дмитра Кислиці. Детройт: Українські вісті, 1984. [P. G. (Petr Grigorevich) Grigorenko (1907-1987). *Memoirs.* Trans. Dmytro Kyslycia. Detroit: Ukrainian News, 1984].

Petro Grigorenko attended the Moscow Military Engineering Academy and the General Staff Academy in Moscow. After acting as a division commander on the German front during World War II, he taught at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow where he became head of the Faculty of Military Cybernetics. In 1956 he was promoted to the rank of general in the Soviet Army. At a Moscow Communist Party Conference in 1961 Grigorenko advocated the democratization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and criticized corrupt officials, the privileges of top Communists, and the repression directed against reformers. As a result he was fired from his teaching post, transferred to the Far East, removed from active duty, and stripped of his party membership. In 1963 he founded the underground League of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism, and advocated the right of Crimean Tatars deported by Stalin to return to their homeland. He was arrested and spent a total of six years for his 'paranoid personality' in psychiatric prisons off and on between 1964 and 1974. During periods of release he met other dissidents and continued his criticisms of the Soviet regime, often through the avenue of *Samizdat* leaflets. In 1976 he was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the goal of which was to monitor the Soviet Government's compliance with the Helsinki Accords which ensure human rights. In 1977 he left for medical treatment in the United States, was stripped of Soviet citizenship in absentia, and was thereby prevented from returning. Grigorenko declared that day the saddest of his life since he was denied the right to die in his homeland. In exile, he wrote his memoirs which were published in Russian, Ukrainian, English, Spanish, German, and French.

105 *Documented Persecution: Ukrainian Women in the Soviet Union*, 1975-1980. Comp. Nina Strokata. Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1980.

Compiled by Nina Strokata (1926-1998), and translated and edited by Myroslava Stefaniuk and Volodymyr Hruszkewych, this pamphlet was published in conjunction with the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women held in July 1980. It is composed of twelve documents written by female Ukrainian dissidents, citing the national and social persecution of women in Ukraine. This was the first time most of these documents had been published in English. Each document is preceded by a short commentary and, where necessary, explanations prepared by Strokata, along with photographs of the political prisoners and their families. Strokata herself faced persecution by the KGB for her defence of her imprisoned husband, Sviatoslav Karavans'kyi. An established microbiologist, she was fired from her job in 1971, and arrested and sentenced to four years in a labour camp for women in 1972. Upon release, she was not allowed to return to Ukraine, and lived in Kaluga province, until she and her husband were expelled from the Soviet Union altogether in 1979. They found refuge in the United States where both resumed activities in defence of human rights in Ukraine.

Gift of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations.

106 Leonid Plyushch (1939-). *History's Carnival: A Dissident's Autobiography.* Edited and translated by Marco Carynnyk. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.

Leonid Plyushch was born into a Ukrainian family residing in what is now Kyrgyzstan, but raised among Russians. After receiving a degree in mathematics from Kyiv University in 1963 he worked at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. During the 1960s, Plyushch took an active part in the Ukrainian national-democratic movement of the Sixtiers. He established contact with human-rights defenders in Moscow, familiarized them with Ukrainian *Samizdat,* and brought back from Moscow Russian *Samizdat* for circulation throughout Ukraine. When Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 he signed, along with sixteen other Soviet dissidents, a declaration of solidarity with the democratic movement in Czechoslovakia. In 1969 he was fired from his job after joining the Initiating Group for the Defence of Human Rights, which sent a letter to the UN Human Rights Commission asking it to investigate violations by the Soviet Union of the right to hold independent beliefs and to propagate them by legal means. He was arrested in 1972 for writing articles and signing letters of protest against the violation of human rights. Declared mentally ill, he was incarcerated in a psychiatric prison for 'borderline schizophrenia.' Pressure from various groups in the West, and in particular from French mathematicians, led to his release in 1976. He was expelled from the Soviet Union to France, where he lives to this day. His autobiography, *На карнавалі історії* [History's Carnival] was first published in 1977. In it, Plyushch traces his transformation from a Soviet citizen to a dissident in conflict with Communist party leadership and the state system. In addition to English, it has been translated into French, Italian and German.

107 Святослав Караванський. *Гумористичні самвидав.* Філядельфія: Київ, 1982. [Sviatoslav Karavans'kyi. *Humorous Self-Publishing.* Philadelphia: Kyiv, 1982].

Karavans'kyi, a linguist, poet, and journalist, was born and educated in Odessa. At a young age, he began composing verse and short stories, and dreamt of becoming a writer. With the outbreak of World War II, he enlisted with the hope, that upon completion of service, he would complete higher studies in philology. He returned to Odessa in 1942, and began his literary studies, all the while establishing ties with youth affiliated with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Karavans'kyi established a bookstore, the proceeds of which went to supporting OUN youth and Ukrainian theatre in Odessa. As a result of this activity, he was sentenced in 1945 to twenty-five years of hard labour. After serving nearly seventeen years of his sentence, he received amnesty and returned home to Odessa. While under sentence and on release, Karavans'kyi continued to write poetry, tales, plays, and translations, and worked on a dictionary of Ukrainian rhymes. However, his protests against Russification and official abuses led to further arrest and imprisonment in 1965 (eight years imprisonment, plus seven years hard labour). In all, he spent thirty-one years in confinement. At the beginning of 1979, he was freed and forced to emigrate. He settled in the

United States where he published several collections of original and translated poems, including *Гумористичні самвидав* [Humorous Self-Publishing] in 1982.

108 Валентин Якович Мороз (1936-). *Твердi мелодiї.* Клівленд: Анабазис, 1980. [Valentyn Iakovych Moroz (1936-). *Hard Melodies.* Cleveland: Anabazys, 1980].

After graduating from Lviv University in 1958 with a degree in history, Moroz taught at pedagogical institutes in north- and south-western Ukraine. He was arrested in 1965 for reading and disseminating *Samizdat* and Western literature, and sentenced in 1966 to four years in a labour camp, during which time he issued his underground document 'Report from the Beria Reserve.' He was released in 1969, but rearrested in 1970 and sentenced to nine additional years' imprisonment and five years' exile for his continuing *Samizdat* publishing critical of Soviet abuses. In 1974 he began a hunger strike to protest his maltreatment in prison. The strike lasted 145 days and attracted international attention and protests. In 1979, an exchange of five political prisoners for two Soviet spies resulted in his release to the United States. He subsequently moved to Canada, settling in Toronto where he published his own journal, *Anabazys,* and ran his own weekly radio program. However, he found it difficult to adapt to life in North America and to meet the expectations of the Ukrainian community. In 1992 he was appointed professor and head of the Ukrainian studies department at the Ukrainian Printing Institute in Lviv, where he has lived since 1997. *Твердi мелодiї* is a collection of writings and speeches published by his former publishing house.

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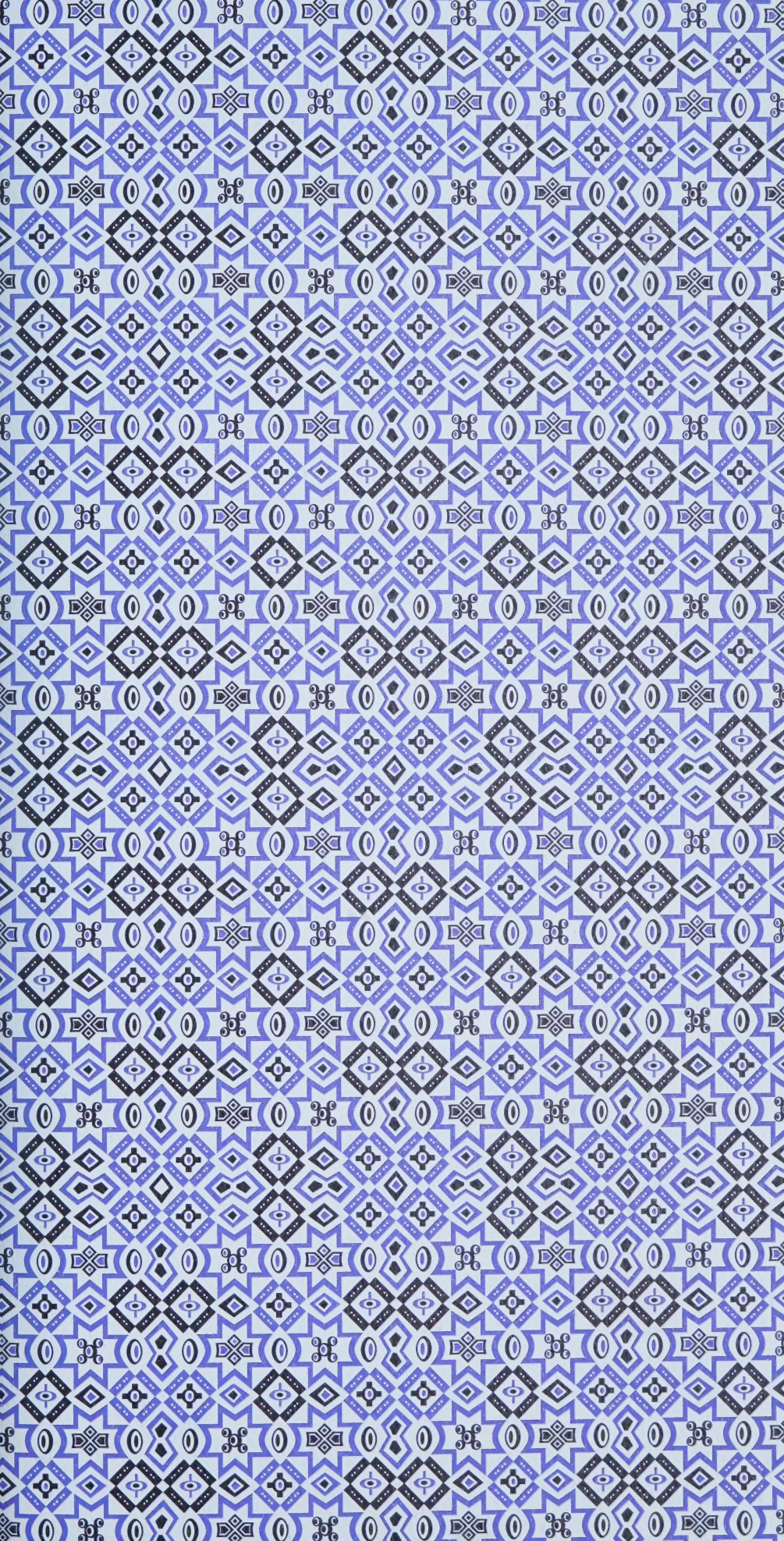

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